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A Grammar of Konso

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geboren te Konso, Ethiopië

in 1976

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List of structure morphemes

Morpheme	Gloss	Function/name
-ʔ	DAT	dative
-ʔ	NOM	nominative
-ʔ	LOC	locative
-ʔ	GEN	genitive
-ʔ	plus	plus
-ay	PF	perfective (3SGM)
-i	PF	perfective
-i	IMP.SG	imperative singular
-a	IMP.PL	imperative plural
-a	IPF.FUT	imperfective future
-ni	IPF.PRES	imperfective present
-adˀ	MID	benefactive, middle
-aadˀ	INCH	inchoative
-ʃ	DCAUS	direct causative
-acciis	ICAUS	indirect causative
-am	PAS	passive
-t	3F; 2	third person feminine; second person
-n	P	plural gender marker
-siʔ	DEF.M/F	definite feminine/masculine (gender)
-siniʔ	DEF.P	definite plural (gender)
-asiʔ/-osiʔ	DEM.M/F	demonstrative feminine/masculine
-osiniʔ	DEM.P	demonstrative plural (gender)
in=	1	first person affirmative subject clitic
in=	3NEG	third person negative subject clitic
iʔ=	2	second person affirmative subject clitic
i=	3	third person affirmative subject clitic
an=	1NEG	first person negative subject clitic
an=	1	first person nominal subject clitic
aʔ=	2NEG	second person negative subject clitic
aʔ=	2	second person nominal subject clitic
-n(n)	INST	instrumental
-n(n)	PATH	path
-awu	1SG.POSS.M/F	1SG possessive (gender)
-ayyu	1SG.POSS.P	1SG possessive plural (gender)
-aynu	1PL.POSS.M/F	1PL possessive (gender)
-annu	1PL.POSS.P	1PL possessive plural (gender)
-ayti	2SG.POSS.M/F	2SG possessive (gender)
-atti	2SG.POSS.P	2SG possessive plural (gender)
-ayʃin	2PL.POSS.M/F	2PL possessive (gender)
-assin	2PL.POSS.P	2PL possessive plural (gender)
-adɨ	3SG.POSS.M/F/P	3SG possessive M/F/P (gender)

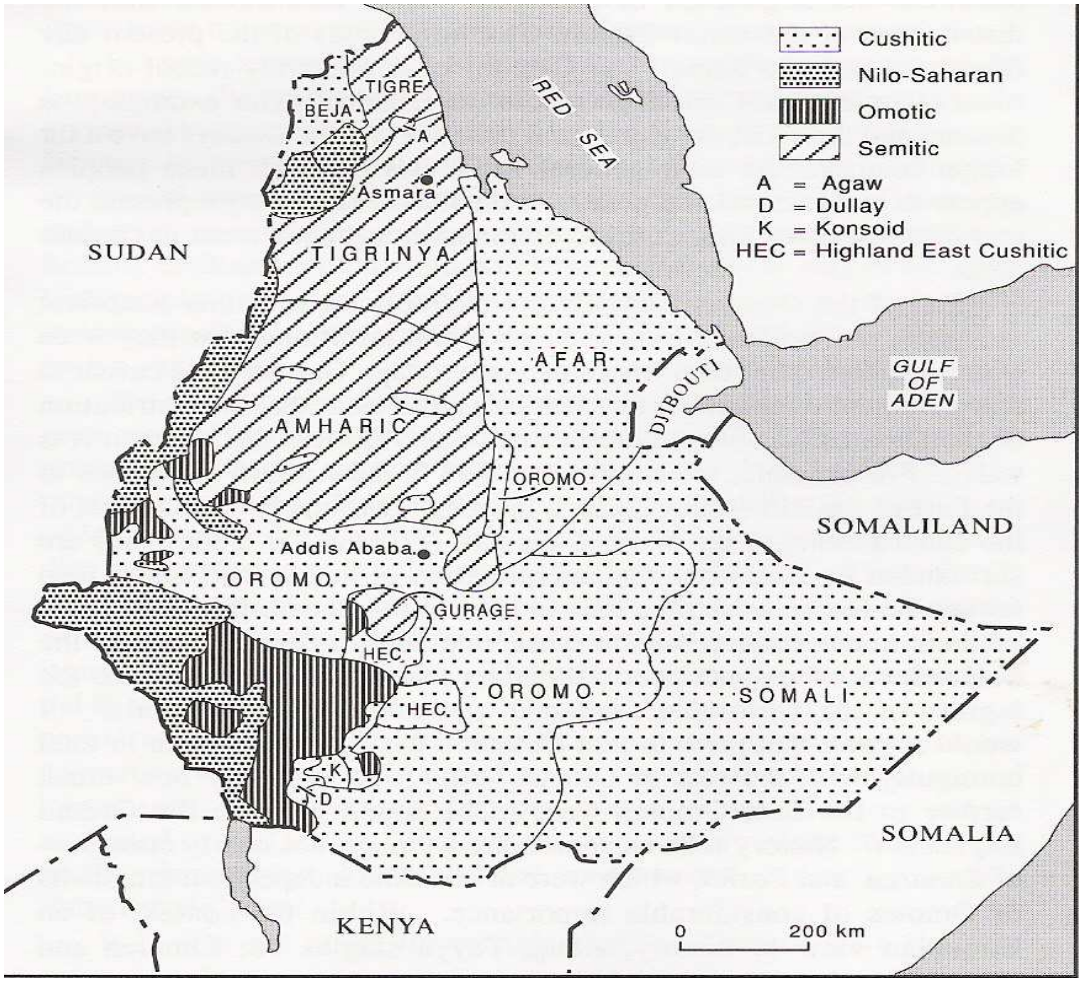
-aysuʔ	3PL.POSS.M/F	3PL possessive M/F (gender)
-assuʔ	3PL.POSS.P	3PL possessive plural (gender)
-n	NEG	negative
-y	VOC.P	vocative plural (gender) addressee
-u	VOC.M/F	vocative (gender) addressee
-a(ʔ)	M/F	gender (adjectives)
-aaʔ	P	plural gender (adjectives)
-e	F/M	gender (in relative clauses)
-eeʔ	P	plural gender (in relative clauses)
-(tt)eeta	DIM	diminutive

List of symbols and abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
1SG	first person singular
1PL	first person plural
2SG	second person singular
2PL	second person plural
3M	third person masculine
3F	third person feminine
3PL	third person plural
´	high tone
*	ungrammatical form
.	more than one morpheme is involved
̥	devoiced sound
//	phonemic representation
ABST	abstract
ACC	accusative
AGENT	agentive
ASS	associative
BKGRD	background
C	consonant
CEXPEC	contrary to expectation
DAT	dative
DCAUS	direct causative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DP	dependent
F	feminine
FREQ	frequentative
GEN	genitive
ICAUS	indirect causative
IDEO	ideophone
IMP	imperative
INCH	inchoative
INDEF	indefinite
INST	instrumental
INSIS	insistive
INTENS	intensive
INTERJ	interjection
IPF.FUT	imperfective future
IPF.PRES	imperfective present

LOC	locative
M	masculine
MID	middle
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominaliser
NOM	nominative
OPT	optative
ORD	ordinal
P	plural (as a value of gender)
PAS	passive
PF	perfective
PL	plural (as a value of number)
POSS	possessive
PRO	pronoun
RDP	reduplication
RECIP	reciprocal
REL	relative
SG	singular (as a value of number)
sp.	species
V	vowel
VN	verbal nominal
VOC	vocative

Map



Source: Hayward (1995:7) as cited in Mulugeta Seyoum (2008:ix)

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1. Introduction

This work is a grammar of Konso. So far, the language has not been intensively studied. In this chapter, I introduce the people and the language, review previous linguistic works, and outline the nature and organisation of this study.

1.1. The people

The Konso live in the southwest of Ethiopia in the Segen Area Peoples' Zone in the state of Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region (SNNPR). They number about 250,000 (Central Statistical Agency 2009), and call themselves **χonsitta**; they call their land **χonso** and their language **ʔafaa ʔa χonsóʔ** 'language of Konso'.

The Konso are organised in nine exogamous clans: **Keertitta**, **Arkaamayta**, **Sawɗatta**, **Paasanta**, **Tookmaleeta**, **Eelayta**, **Iʃalayta**, **Tikissayta** and **Mahalayta**. I belong to the **Keertitta** clan. Except for the Keertitta clan, each clan has its own chief. There are two clan chiefs for the Keertitta: ɠuufa (in Kenaa) and Kala (in Karatte). Males of the same clan consider themselves as brothers, and the females as their sisters. This prohibits Keertitta men from marrying women from their own clan. A clan chief does not marry from the land he administers. This makes the marriage of clan chiefs different from that of the common people. Konso villages are not clan-based.

The Konso have an age grading system, called **Kataa**, which is similar to the well-known **Gada** system of Oromo. The **Kataa** system has become less important in the past few decades. The Konso are socially divided into two classes, the **Etanta** and the **χawɗaa**. The former comprises farmers who hold a high social profile while the latter comprises traders and craftsmen.

The Konso are hard-working people who make a living in the mountainous hills of their land. They are predominantly farmers and are known for their indigenous terracing system, which allows them to make use of even the most precipitous slopes while preventing erosion. With the efforts of many scholars and organisations, UNESCO inscribed the Konso Landscape as a World Heritage in June 2011. The inscription of the Konso Landscape was celebrated in Karatte in April 2012.

The Konso produce maize, wheat, barley, different types of beans and sorghum, and cotton, among other things. Their staple foods are **ɗamaa** and **χarʃa**. **ɗamaa** is prepared from sorghum, maize, wheat and/or barley flour, while **χarʃa** is prepared from beans. **ʃaɠaa** is a locally brewed drink and has different varieties.

Most Konso villages are established on hilltops and are densely populated. The villages are surrounded by high walls of piled stones for protection against attacks. Each family compound traditionally consists of an upper part, called the **oytaa**, and a lower part, called the **arχatta**. The former is used for living and the latter for storage and keeping animals.

1.2. The language

Konso belongs to the Lowland East Cushitic languages of the Afroasiatic phylum. Within the Lowland East Cushitic family, it belongs to the Oromoid group, and further to the Konsoid group. The language has four dialects: Faaʃe, Karatte, Tuuro and χolme (see also Black 1973). Data for this study come from the Faaʃe dialect, which I speak.

Though attempts have been made to develop an alphabet, there is still no standard alphabet for Konso. Two scripts have been proposed for a standard alphabet: Fidäl script (the script used for writing Amharic and Ge'ez, among others) and the Roman alphabet. The first scholar who made the attempt to establish the alphabet for Konso is Haile Eyesus Engidashet (1986). He proposes the Fidäl script after studying the phonology of the language very briefly. The other script, Latin, was first proposed by the Konso Orthography Committee in 1997. The most recent decision to adopt the Latin script was made in April 2012. On 29 April 2012, the Bureau of Culture, Tourism and Government Communications Affairs organised a one-day Language and Culture symposium in which four papers that dealt with script selection were presented. The first paper was presented by me. In my presentation, I focussed on comparing and contrasting the adoption of Fidäl and Latin scripts. The second paper proposed a modified version of the Fidäl script. The third paper dealt with the report of the 1997 Konso Orthography Committee, and the reasons why the Committee adopted the Latin script. The fourth paper was about an attempt made by a Konso native to invent a new script for writing in Konso. Interestingly, this presenter trained some children from his village on how to use the script and demonstrated that to the participants. After the paper presentations, group discussions were held to make a decision on the adoption of either the Fidäl or Latin script. After the group discussions, group representatives presented the script they proposed and the reasons why they made the choice. Except for one group that could not make a clear decision, the rest adopted Latin script for the language. The adoption was directed to the Konso Wereda Administration Council to officially endorse the adoption of Latin script. The symposium was concluded by setting up Konso Language Promotion Committee.

Although there is no standard alphabet for Konso, some written materials have been produced. The Evangelical Church of Makane Yesus has produced quite a number of materials in Konso using the Fidäl script. These materials include

the translation of both the Old and New Testaments of the Bible, religious short stories, arithmetic booklets and so on. So far, little has been produced in Latin script. Korra Garra published two storybooks at the department of African Languages and Cultures, Leiden University. The arithmetic booklets produced by Mekane Yesus Church are also available in Latin version.

1.3. Previous linguistic works

Though Konso does yet not have a comprehensive grammar, there have been some linguistic works written on the language. As the review below shows, most of the works are unpublished B.A. and M.A. theses.

Paul Black (1973) studies the phonology, morphology and syntax of the language. In the phonology part, he presents the phonemic inventory of the language and identifies twenty-one consonant phonemes and five short vowels, each with a long counterpart. He also discusses the allophonic distribution, the phonemic and phonotactic rules of consonants. In the morphology section, he deals with nominals, including nouns and pronouns, and with adjectives. In the syntax section, he describes predicate and nominal phrases as well as the formation of conditional clauses.

Ronald J Sim (1977) provides a phonemic sketch of the segmental phonemes; he discusses the phonemic status of gemination and vowel length, and presents suprasegmentals and distinctive features. He also discusses nouns, verbs and adjective categories.

Getahun Amare (1999), in his published article, deals with the structure of the noun phrase. He examines nominal positions, interrogatives, and independent personal pronouns. He also presents complements, modifiers and specifiers of the noun phrase.

In his unpublished BA thesis, Mehamed Ahmed (1999) describes the relativisation of subjects, direct objects and objects of postpositions. He claims that Konso does not have a relative pronoun like English *who*. His claim is not correct. Konso has a relative pronoun **ʔa**, which does not appear when the subject head noun is definite.

In his unpublished BA thesis, Beniam Mitiku (2000) presents the noun inflections for number, gender, person and case. He also examines the derivation of nouns from verbs and adjectives, and discusses noun-deriving affixes.

Daniel Damtew's (2000) thesis presents compounding in nouns, adjectives and postpositions. His examples are based on compounds in Amharic and English, and are not natural compounds in Konso (see 4.12).

Ongaye Oda (2000) writes in his unpublished BA thesis about the structure of simple sentences. He analyses the structure of declaratives, interrogatives (of yes–no questions and wh-questions), and imperatives. He also attempts to show the basic transformational rules operating on simple sentences, such as an insertion rule, optional and obligatory subject deletion rules, substitution transformation, and movement rules of object, verb and the wh-word.

In his unpublished MA thesis, Ongaye Oda (2004) presents an overview of complex sentences and complement clauses in Konso. He presents simple sentences, compound sentences and (compound-)complex sentences. He also treats result clauses, conditional clauses, concessive clauses, purpose clauses, and temporal clauses. He additionally discusses complement clauses, syntactic and semantic analysis of complementisers, the derivation of subject and object complement clauses and syntactic variations in complement clauses. Finally, he deals with higher predicates and complement clause modalities.

In his (2004) article, Maarten Mous describes middle and passive in Konso. Here he identifies the suffixes that mark these two voices. He also discusses the fact that the middle derivation is occasionally used with the passive meaning.

Maarten Mous (2005) analyses conjunctive coordination, disjunctive coordination and adversative coordination. He identifies lexical and clitic conjunctive and disjunctive coordinations.

Maarten Mous and Ongaye Oda (2009) analyse clause linking in temporal (succession) clauses and conditional clauses. They also analyse (possible) consequences of clause linking.

Daudey, H and A.C. Hellenthal (2004) study some morphosyntactic aspects of the Konso language. They discuss the structural and semantic functions of the suffixes **-eeyye**, **-n(n)**, and **-ʔ**. They also present the locational, directional, elevational and distance adverbs.

In his unpublished MA thesis Gallo Aylatte (2008) treats the verbal system, the relationship between tense and aspect and the inflection of the verb in the context of the past, present, and future tenses. He also describes the inflection of the verbs in relative clauses.

In her unpublished BA thesis Tizita Getahun (2003) discusses the inflection of the verb for person, number, gender, aspect, tense, mood and voice. She also deals with the derivation of the verb stem in the passive, causative, intensive, reciprocal, benefactive, gerundive and singulative. Finally, she presents morphophonemic processes such assimilation, consonant insertion (though there is no such thing in the language, as far as I know), vowel length, and epenthesis.

Alemayehu Dereje (2003) discusses the simple and complex constituency of a noun phrase. He further analyses agreement between modifiers and the head noun. He also describes the patterns of noun phrase constituents, and finally the functions of a noun phrase as a subject, object and complement.

Anna Vähäkangas's (2009) grammatical sketch of Konso (45 pages) is published by the Evangelical Church of Mekane Yesus. The booklet presents a description of the consonant as well as vowel phonemes, nouns, noun phrase modifiers, pronouns and possessives, subjects and predicates, verbs, transitive and intransitive verbs, non-final verbs and verb derivation and (some) cases. The booklet has many descriptive problems, as well as some analytical ones. For example, the uvular consonants /ɢ/ and /χ/ are described as velar consonants. The glottal stop that marks the nominative case is missing. The middle derivation is not discussed in the work. Subject clitics are poorly analysed. I have not made any use of the material in the booklet. In other words, my work is an independent research based on my own data.

1.4. The present study

This study has developed out of contact professor Mous made with me in 2000 in Ethiopia. During the summer of 2003, professor Mous invited me to Leiden University where I met scholars (Azeb Amha, Christian Rapold, Anne-Christie Hellenthal and Graziano Savá) working on Ethiopian languages. During this visit, professor Mous and I started working on Konso. I also did library work for my MA research. He again invited me to Leiden University during the summer of 2004. This time, I gave a talk at the Colloquium on African Languages and Cultures and then started writing my PhD proposal ("A Grammar of Konso"). With his and Dr Azeb Amha's support, I wrote my project proposal and submitted a couple of applications in the subsequent years. It was in 2007 that my project proposal was selected for a fully funded PhD position at Leiden University Centre for Linguistics (LUCL). The research project was supervised by both professor Mous and Dr. Azeb Amha.

As there is no standard alphabet for Konso, the transcription employed in this study closely adheres to the IPA; the exceptions include the use of y instead of j for the palatal glide, doubling letters instead of using a colon (:) to represent geminate consonants as well as long vowels.

In the next chapter, I describe phonology and morphophonemics (Chapter 2). In chapter 3, I discuss the basics of simple sentences to orient the reader on the syntactic structure before dealing with morphology in subsequent chapters. In chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7, I analyse nouns, pronouns, verbs and adjectives, respectively. Postpositions, adverbs and conjunctions are discussed in chapter 8. In chapter 9 I discuss syntax and in chapter ten interrogative clauses. In chapters

11 and 12 I present negation and complex sentences, respectively. Ideophones and interjections are discussed in chapter 13. Chapters 14 and 15 contain list of nouns and stories, respectively.

1.5. Fieldwork

I conducted fieldwork during two trips to Ethiopia. The first field trip took place from end of April to mid August 2008. During this period, I recorded stories and checked my preliminary analyses on phonology with native speakers. I also conducted library research at Addis Ababa University and participated in a conference organised by the Ethiopian Language Research Centre at Addis Ababa University.

I carried out fieldwork on the second trip from September 2009 to January 2010. During this period, I recorded more stories and transcribed some of these. I checked my preliminary analyses on morphology and syntax with several Konso native speakers and developed the chapters on these topics.

2. Phonology and morphophonology

This chapter deals with the inventory of the speech sounds as well as the morphophonology of Konso. After the identification and description of the consonant and vowel phonemes, (near) minimal pairs are provided. Phonotactic constraints, syllable structure, phonological and morphophonemic processes and tone are also treated in this chapter.

2.1. Consonant phonemes

The inventory of consonant phonemes in Konso includes labial, alveolar, (alveo)-palatal, velar, uvular and glottal places of articulation. Along these places of articulation, 21 consonant phonemes are recognised (see also Black 1973; Sim 1977). The consonants at a systematic phonemic level are given in table 1.

	Labial	Alveolar	(Alveo)-palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plain stops	p	t	c	k		ʔ
Implosives	ɓ	ɗ	ʄ		ɠ	
Nasals	m	n	ɲ			
Fricatives	f[1]	s	ʃ		χ	h
Liquids		l, r				
Glides	w		y			

Table 1: Consonant phonemes of Konso

From table 1, we observe that Konso does not make a phonemic voice distinction in stops. Some voiceless stops are realised voiced in certain conditions (cf. Section 2.7.2). The absence of voice contrast in stops has also been reported for Diraytata (Black 1974; SIL 2002; Wondwosen 2007), Muusiye (SIL 2002:6) and Gawwada (Black 1974, Geberew 2005). Diraytata and Muusiye [Bussa], together with Konso, are Konsoid languages within the Oromoid subgroup, whereas Gawwada is a member of the Dullay group spoken to the west of Konso. Other neighbouring Cushitic languages do make a voice distinction: Oromo (see among others Andrzejewski 1957:25; Black 1974:64, Bender et. al 1976:132; Owens 1985:10; Stroomer 1995:7), Burji (Sasse 1982:15) and Ts'amakko (Savá 2005:9). Thus, the absence of a voice opposition seems to be a Konsoid innovation within the Lowland East Cushitic language family. That Gawwada does not have a voice opposition (Geberew 2005) may be attributed to language contact with the Konsoid languages (see also Sasse 1986). Moreover, all the neighbouring languages have ejectives and, in varying degrees, implosives in their inventories. However, unlike the neighbouring languages,

[1] Labio-dental fricative.

Konso does not have any ejective at all; instead, it has a series of four implosives (shown in table 1).

Ejectives in borrowed words change to implosives (1a), plain stop (1b) or fricative (1c). The systematic correspondence is as follows: the labial ejective /pʼ/ changes to labial implosive /ɓ/; palatal ejective /cʼ/ changes to palatal implosive /ʃ/. A velar ejective /kʼ/ changes to uvular implosive /ɠ/. The alveolar ejectives /tʼ/ and /sʼ/ change to an alveolar plain stop /t/ and a voiceless alveolar fricative /s/, respectively. The following illustrative lexical items are borrowed from Amharic.

(1a)	/pʼ/ > /ɓ/	t'ərəp'p'ezza	taraɓɓeessaa	'table'
		lap'p'ɨs	laaɓɓiseeta	'eraser, rubber'
	/cʼ/ > /ʃ/	c'ərk'	ʃarɠeeta	'textile'
		mac'ɨd	maaʃireeta	'sickle'
	/kʼ/ > /ɠ/	k'es	ɠeesitta	'priest, pastor'
		k'era	ɠeeraa	'slaughterhouse'
(1b)	/tʼ/ > /t/	seyt'an	seetana	'Satan'
		t'ɨyyɨt	tiyyiteeta	'bullet'
		ʃɨggut'	ʃukkuteeta	'pistol'
(1c)	/sʼ/ > /s/	s'ələt	salootita	'prayer'

Amharic does not have implosive consonants, but Oromo has the alveolar /ɗ/, and Diraytata has the bilabial and alveolar implosives /ɓ/ and /ɗ/. Oromo and Diraytata lexical items with the alveolar implosive retain the alveolar implosive in Konso pronunciation. For instance, a Konso native would pronounce the Oromo word haaɗa 'mother' as it is, although in Konso the word for 'mother' is aayyaa. Thus /ɗ/ is not an example of an implosive replacing an ejective in loan words from Oromo, Diraytata or Ts'amakko.

2.1.1. Description of consonant phonemes

Below, I present the description of consonant phonemes and give illustrative examples. Allophonic variants are discussed in Section 2.7. The order of the consonant phonemes is based on the place of articulation.

(2) /p/ is a bilabial voiceless plain stop.

piʃaa	'water'
pora	'road, place'
hapura	'spirit'
torpaa	'week'

(3) /ɓ/ is a bilabial implosive. It is very rare in word-initial position.

ɓaɓɓaʃa	‘well-fed (impolite for humans)’
hiɓta	‘lip’
saraɓta	‘calf (of leg)’

(4) /**m**/ is a bilabial voiced nasal.

mura	‘forest’
makla	‘handle of a pot’
kusumta	‘navel’
kumanta	‘antelope’

(5) /**f**/ is a labio-dental voiceless fricative.

furaa	‘key, padlock’
foola	‘steam’
kuufa	‘cow dung pile’
kafa	‘clan’

(6) /**w**/ is a labio-velar voiced glide.

waaɠa	‘God’
kawsa	‘beard’
tawna	‘bell’

(7) /**t**/ is an alveolar voiceless plain stop.

tika	‘house’
talteeta	‘she-goat’
kuta	‘dog’
harta	‘pond’

(8) /**ɗ**/ is an alveolar implosive.

ɗakaa	‘stone’
ɗikla	‘elbow’
hiɗana	root crop species
tanɗa	‘drink prepared without malt’

(9) /**n**/ is an alveolar nasal voiced.

nama	‘person, man’
nessa	‘soul’
soonaa	‘nose’
ɠinɗa	‘side’

(10) /s/ is an alveolar voiceless fricative.

sinɗaa	‘urine’
solaa	‘bird tail’
kusumta	‘navel’
kawsa	‘beard’

(11) /l/ is an alveolar lateral voiced liquid.

leɠaa	‘loan’
leemmuta	‘bubble’
paleeta	‘village’
kolalta	‘acacia tree’

(12) /r/ is an alveolar voiced trill.

roopa	‘rain’
raɠaa	type of hut
para	‘year’
karkaa	‘beehive’

(13) /c/ is an alveo-palatal voiceless plain stop. It is the rarest phoneme and but it occurs as a single consonant in the common verb root **c-** ‘to be, exist’. Underlyingly the verb root is **kiy-** or **kit-** as shown in the sentential examples in (14).

(14a) **iʃaʔ ʔaye ʔica**

iʃa-ʔ	*aye*	*i=kiy-a*
3SGM.PRO-NOM	here	3=be-IPF.FUT

‘He is here.’

(14b) **iʃeennaʔ ʔaye ikitta**

iʃeenna-ʔ	*aye*	*i=kit-t-a*
3SGF.PRO-NOM	here	3=be-3F-IPF.FUT

‘She is here.’

The nouns **caattaa** ‘life’ <**c-aaɗ-ta**> and **acuunna** (a woman’s personal name), the interjection (see Chapter 13) **hec**, which is used to chase away a cow or ox, also contain a single /**c**/.

The occurrence of /**c**/ as a geminate consonant is also quite limited in verbs as well as in nouns. There are only two verb roots I know of in which it occurs as geminate: **χaccaɗ-** ‘to stink, smell bad’ and **hoccaɗ-** ‘to work, do’. The latter verb root is also pronounced as **hoʃʃaɗ-** (cf. Oromo **hoʤʤaɗ-** ‘to work’). In nouns, there are certain proper names in which /**c**/ occurs as a geminate. Except

for the nominals **χaccumaa** ‘stinking, smelling bad’ and **hoccaa** ‘work’ derived from the verb roots **χaccad-** ‘to stink, smell bad’ and **hoccad-** ‘to work, do’, respectively, I could not find any other nouns with a geminate /**c**/. The following is an exhaustive list of the proper names I know of with geminate /**c**/.

(15)

kaccanna	a woman’s personal name
kaccitti	a woman’s personal name
kaccuunu	a man’s personal name
kaccaawwa	a woman’s personal name
paaccaa	a male or female person’s name

(16) /**ʃ**/ is a palatal implosive.

ʃolta	‘blind person’
ʃaᶜaa	‘local beer’
kaaʃaa	‘money’
marʃaa	‘hip flesh (human)’

(17) /**ɲ**/ is a palatal nasal voiced.

ɲaaɲɲaa	‘tomato’
ɲaapa	‘enemy’
kuuɲata	‘gnat’

(18) /**ʃ**/ is a palatal voiceless fricative.

ʃehta	‘grass snake’
ʃaaɓɓaa	‘stretcher’
piʃaa	‘water’
χarʃa	‘beans’

(19) /**y**/ is a palatal glide voiced.

yaaya	type of bead
yooyta	‘jackal’
taahayta	‘sand’
torrayta	‘locust’

(20) /**k**/ is a velar voiceless plain stop.

keraa	‘thief’
kirra	‘river’
raaka	‘old woman’
maakaa	‘snake’

(21) /ɠ/ is a uvular implosive.

ɠayranta	‘leopard’
ɠapaleeta	‘monkey’
telɠayta	lizard species
ʃeɠerta	tree species

(22) /χ/ is a uvular voiceless fricative.

χolaa	‘hot drink made mainly from coffee leaves’
χala	‘yesterday’
moχna	‘rocky place’
ʔarχatta	‘lower part of homestead’

(23) /ʔ/ is a glottal stop.

ɗaʔta	‘butter’
paʔatta	tree species
iʃuʔ	‘also’

(24) /h/ is a glottal voiceless approximant.

harreeta	‘donkey’
hotaarta	acacia tree species
laha	‘ram’
oha	‘fodder’

2.1.2. (Near) minimal pairs

Below I show place and manner opposition between plain stops and implosives. I refrain from providing evidence for opposition in manner of articulation between plain stops and fricatives, plain stops and nasals, etc., but such oppositions can be found in the language.

Opposition in place of articulation

Plain voiceless stops /p, t, c, k, ʔ/

From the series of the plain stops, /p, t, k/ are found contrastive in word-initial and medial positions as shown in (25a) and (25b), respectively.

(25a)

paka	‘half’
taka	‘small birds that fly together and eat crops’
kakaa	‘comb (of honey)’

(25b) **kapaa** ‘near, beside’
kataa ‘age grading system’
kaka ‘comb (of honey)’

Implosives /ɓ, ɗ, ʃ, ɠ/

(26) /ɓ/ and /ɗ/ **haaɓuta** a children’s game
haaɗita ‘load, burden’

/ɓ/ and /ʃ/ **kaaɓaa** man’s name
kaaʃaa ‘money’

/ɓ/ and /ɠ/ **leɓi** ‘kick (many times/things)!’
leɠi ‘smear (many times)!’

/ɗ/ and /ʃ/ **ɗakara** ‘old coin token’
ʃakara ‘piece of old cloth’

/ɗ/ and /ɠ/ **ɗarta** ‘lie (untruth)’
ɠarta ‘firstborn son’

/ʃ/ and /ɠ/ **ʃoraa** ‘coin purse’
ɠoraa ‘trees’

Nasals /m, n, ɲ/

(27) /m/ and /n/ **maalaa** ‘cutting crops randomly’
naalaa ‘spoilt behaviour’

/m/ and /ɲ/ **maraa** ‘hillside’
ɲaraa ‘contention, threat’

irma ‘wheat/barley stalk’
irɲa ‘gum’

/n/ and /ɲ/ **napa** ‘soot’
ɲaapa ‘enemy’

Plain voiceless stops and implosives

(28) /p/ and /ɓ/ **kapa** ‘near’
kaɓa ‘canal’

/t/ and /ɗ/	tankaa	sorghum species
	ɗankaa	‘pharynx’
	tuuta	‘festival after crop harvest’
	tuuɗa	‘pillar’
/c/ and /ʃ/	caattaa	‘life, living’ <caaɗ-taa>
	ʃaatta[2]	‘thorn’
/k/ and /ɠ/	lekaa	‘congested sprouts’
	leɠaa	‘loan (of money)’

2.1.3. Gemination

All consonants may appear geminate. Geminate consonants occur only in word-medial position. In addition to geminate consonants in lexical roots, gemination can arise grammatically. As we shall see shortly, a substitution of a non-geminate consonant for a geminate counterpart may bring about a semantic difference in lexical items. Grammatically, geminate consonants may mark plural number (see 4.2.3.)

Geminate consonants function as ambisyllabic segments, appearing as a coda of a preceding syllable and the onset of the following syllable (see 2.4.2). As mentioned in the introduction, geminate consonants are written by doubling the symbol (e.g. consonant /t/ in **apitta** ‘fire’).

Below I provide (near) minimal pairs consisting of geminate and non-geminate consonants. Where I lack nominal examples, I provide imperative verbs or simple sentences with intransitive verbs.

(29)

/p/ and /pp/	kapaa	‘near’
	kappaa	‘wheat’
/t/ and /tt/	aataa	‘culture’
	aattaa	form of address for an elder sibling
/k/ and /kk/	hikaa	‘art of building huts’
	hiikkaa	‘stars’
/ʔ/ and /ʔʔ/	iʔanti	‘She went.’
	iʔʔanti	‘You (SG) went.’
/ɗ/ and /ɗɗ/	hiɗana	root crop species

[2] **ʃaatta** has a variant with glottal stop /ʔ/: **ʃaʔatta**.

	hiɗɗana	‘bundle’
/ʃ/ and /ʃʃ/	kaaʃaa	‘money’
	kaaʃʃaa	a children’s game
/ɠ/ and /ɠɠ/	peeɠaa	‘metal or clay plate for baking’
	peeɠɠaa	‘quarrel, dispute’
/m/ and /mm/	kamaa	‘hillside’
	kammaa	‘behind, after’
/n/ and /nn/	mana	‘hut’
	mannaa	‘huts’
/f/ and /ff/	tafaa	type of game played by males
	taffaa	‘thighs’
/s/ and /ss/	pisa	‘flower’
	pissa	‘complexion (of a sick person)’
/h/ and /hh/	mehi	‘Shake (many times) to dry!’
	mehhi	‘Shake (once) to dry!’
/ʃ/ and /ʃʃ/	haaʃaa	as in haaʃaa haadî ‘Get lost!’
	haaʃʃaa	‘leaf, leaves’
/l/ and /ll/	ɗîlaa	‘charcoal’
	ɗîllaa	‘fields, farms’
/r/ and /rr/	χara	‘shivering, trembling’
	χarra	‘door, gate’
/w/ and /ww/	ɗawiyaa	‘hitting (something)’
	ɗawwiyaa	‘herding’
/y/ and/yy/	χaaya	‘labour (childbirth)’
	χaayyaa	‘labour (for clan chief, landlord)’

2.1.4. Distributions of consonant phonemes

Except for the glottal stop, all consonant phonemes occur in word-initial position underlyingly. As we shall see latter, the glottal stop is inserted word initially to avoid onsetless syllables. All consonant phonemes occur in word-medial and intervocalic positions. Only a few lexical items, mainly numerals,

contain consonants in word final position. However, all the consonant phonemes occur in word final position in ideophones (Chapter 13). In what follows, the distributions of consonants in word-initial, word-medial (i.e., in consonant clusters), in intervocalic and word-final positions are discussed. Examples of geminate consonants are also provided. C stands for "consonant" and V for "vowel".

Plain stops /p, t, k, ʔ, c/

All the plain stops occur word-initially. /t/ and /c/ occur only as a second member of a consonant cluster, while /ʔ/ occurs only as a first member in a consonant cluster. The rest of the plain stops occur in word medial position preceding or following another consonant. All the plain stops occur as geminate and intervocalically. These distributions are shown in table 2.

		Medial			
	Initial	-C	C-	V-V	Geminate
/p/	**poorta**	**χapnaa**[3]	**kilpa**	**tapayta**	**tappa**
	'barley	'forest'	'knee'	'rat'	'seven'
/t/	**tawna**	-----	**farta**	**ɗitiitaa**	**χottooma**
	'bell'		'horse'	'sweat'	'fist'
/k/	**karitta**	**mikta**	**karkaa**	**saka**	**takka**
	'belly'	'right hand'	'beehive'	'blessing'	'one'
/ʔ/	------	**yoʔmatta**	-----	**χolaʔitta**	**iʔʔanti**
		'millstone'		'sp. of cactus'	'You (SG) went.'
/c/	**caattaa**	-----	**incaa**	**icaa**	**χaccumaa**
	'life'		'I exist'	'He exists.'	'bad smell'

Table 2: Distribution of plain stops

Implosives /ɓ, ɗ, ʄ, ɠ/

All implosive consonants occur in word initial position. /ɓ/ is the rarest in this position. Except for /ʄ/, they also occur in word medial position either preceding or following another consonant. All of them occur intervocalically as well as geminate. Table 3 contains illustrative examples for the distributions of these phonemes.

[3] **χapnaa** is a forest that belongs to the clan chief's family, mainly around their homestead.

	Initial	Medial		V-V	Geminate
		-C	C-		
/ɓ/	ɓaalɓaala 'big-bellied	hiɓta 'lip'	kolɓa 'water reservoir in the field'	kaɓa 'canal'	ʃiɓɓoota 'sin'
/ɗ/	ɗakaa 'stone'	mudkahanta sp. of plant	sinɗaa 'urine'	koɗaa 'work'	noodɗuta 'bribe'
/ʃ/	ʃaɓɓaa 'weed'	-----	furʃaa 'baby's faeces'	paaʃuta 'sideburns'	paraʃʃaa crop species
/ƈ/	ƈoyra 'tree'	poƈla 'chief, king'	marƈinaa 'intestine'	paaƈa 'disease'	laaƈƈuta 'bread'

Table 3: Distribution of implosives

Nasals /m, n, ɲ/

All the nasal phonemes occur in word initial, word medial and intervocalic positions. In word medial position, /m/ and /n/ can precede or follow other consonants, but /ɲ/ occurs only as a second member. All nasals can appear geminated. /ɲ/ as a non-geminate consonant is very rare. Examples that show these distributions of the nasal phonemes are given in table 4.

	Initial	Medial		V-V	Geminate
		-C	C-		
/m/	matta 'head'	taamta 'branch'	arma 'weed'	ama 'breast'	ɗaammaa 'flour'
/n/	nama 'man'	kansaata 'yam'	tawna 'bell'	kutanaa 'hunting'	ƈannatta 'lizard sp.'
/ɲ/	ɲirfaa 'hair'	-----	irɲa 'gum'	kuuɲata 'gnat'	fiɲɲitta 'pimple'

Table 4: Distribution of nasals

Of the three nasal phonemes, only /n/ occurs in a word final position in (two) cardinal numbers given in (30).

(30) ken 'five'
kuɗan 'ten'

Fricatives /f, s, ʃ, χ, h/

All fricative consonants occur in word-initial, medial and intervocalic positions. Except /h/, all fricatives may precede or follow other consonants. /h/ occurs only as a first member in a consonant cluster. They all appear geminate,

though geminate /h/ is very rare in lexical items. There is one word containing /h/ in word final position: **leh** ‘six’. Other fricatives are not attested in word final position.

		Medial			
	Initial	-C	C-	V-V	Geminate
/f/	**farta** ‘horse’	**lafta** ‘bone’	**konfa** ‘shorts’	**kafa** ‘clan’	**χoffaa** ‘groin’
/s/	**saka** ‘blessing'	**koskorta** ‘partridge’	**kawsa** ‘beard’	**piisa** ‘all’	**nessa** ‘breath’
/ʃ/	**ʃaaɓɓaa** ‘stretcher	**koʃkoʃa** ‘(chicken’s) comb’	**teʔʃaa** ‘elephantiasis’	**piʃaa** ‘water’	**χaʃʃitta** ‘shoulder’
/χ/	**χolmaa** ‘neck’	**moχna** ‘rocky area’	**malχaa** ‘flood’	**oχinta** ‘fence’	**maχχa** ‘name’
/h/	**harreeta** ‘donkey’	**pohmayta** ‘chameleon’	-----	**taahayta** ‘sand’	**ponɗahɗo-hhaata** plant species

Table 5: Distribution of fricatives

Liquids /l, r/

Both liquids occur in word-initial, medial and intervocalic positions. In a consonant cluster, they can precede or follow other consonants. Rarely, they occur in word final position, and the existing instances are cardinal numbers. These distributions are illustrated in table 6.

		Medial				
Sound	Initial	-C	C-	V-V	Geminate	Final
/l/	**lakki** ‘two’	**olsaa** ‘dream’	**hawla** ‘grave’	**ɗila** ‘farm’	**tolloʔta** ‘hump’	**sakal** ‘nine’
/r/	**roopa** ‘rain’	**marɠinaa** ‘intestine’	**ɠayranta** ‘leopard	**para** ‘year’	**kirra** ‘river’	**afur** ‘four’

Table 6: Distribution of liquids

Glides /w, y/

Both glides occur in word-initial, medial and intervocalic positions. In consonant clusters, they occur only as a first member; they do not occur in word-final position in lexical items. Both glides may occur as geminate. Illustrative lexical examples are given in the following table.

	Initial	Medial		V-V	Geminate
		-C	C-		
/w/	waaɠa 'God'	tawna 'bell'	-----	ɠaawa 'hole'	kawwatta 'terrace'
/y/	yaakata 'bead'	ɠimayta 'old man'	-----	muutiya 'worm'	tuuyyata 'pig'

Table 7: Distribution of glides

2.2. Vowel phonemes

Konso has five short vowels /**i**, **e**, **a**, **o**, **u**/ and five corresponding long vowels /**ii**, **ee**, **aa**, **oo**, **uu**/. For the production of the vowel phonemes, we identify three heights of the tongue (high, mid and low) and three places of articulation or parts of the tongue: front, centre and back. Table 8 presents the vowel phonemes of the language.

	Front		Centre		Back	
High	**i**	**ii**			**u**	**uu**
Mid	**e**	**ee**			**o**	**oo**
Low			**a**	**aa**		

Table 8: Konso vowel phonemes

Both the short and long vowels occur in word-medial and final positions. Short vowels are phonetically realised with a whisper in utterance-final position. All vowels occur word initially. Most nouns end in the vowel /**a**/.

2.2.1. Description of vowels

Vowels approximate cardinal vowels. The following is the description of the vowel phonemes.

(31) /**i**/ high, front vowel

ilta	'eye'
ɠinaʔitta	'rib'
tiraa	'liver'

/**e**/ mid front vowel

ekerta	'olive'
parre	'tomorrow'
kereʔta	'thieves'

/a/ low central vowel

para	‘year’
aɗa	‘chick’
toola	‘family’

/u/ high back vowel

unta	‘grain, crop’
punitta	‘coffee’
tulluppaata	‘wood-boring beetle’

/o/ mid back vowel

oχinta	‘fence’
toma	‘bowl’
monta	‘sky, heaven’

2.2.2. Contrast of short vowels

Short vowels may occur in a contrastive distribution as the (near) minimal pairs in (32) show. Contrast in word-final position is limited. Final vowels in verbs have a grammatical function, and nouns end in **a**.

(32)	/i/ and /e/	**kiraa**	‘daily labour for money’
		keraa	‘thief’
	/i/ and /u/	**tiraa**	‘liver’
		turaa	‘in front of’
	/i/ and /a/	**hiɓta**	‘lip’
		haɓta	‘border; foreign country’
	/i/ and /o/	**χaʔnaa**	‘rise, ascension’
		χoʔnaa	‘favourite’
	/e/ and /a/	**ferta**	‘small metal tool’
		farta	‘horse’
	/e/ and /u/	**feraa**	‘harvesting’
		furaa	‘padlock, key’
	/e/ and /o/	**ekta**	‘tail’
		oktaa	‘pot’

/a/ and /u/	faroota	‘omen, fortune, luck’
	furoota	type of bead
/a/ and /o/	ɗaʔayta	tree species
	ɗoʔayta	‘cattle skin for carrying things’
/u/ and /o/	utaa	‘faeces, droppings (of birds)’
	otaa	‘insult, curse’

2.2.3. Contrast of long vowels

Like the short vowels, long vowels occur in a contrastive distribution as the following pairs show.

(33)	/ii/ and /ee/	miila	‘runny honey’
		meela	‘animal body part (e.g. leg)’
	/ii/ and /uu/	ɗiika	‘blood’
		ɗuuka	‘yoghurt’
	/ii/ and /aa/	piisa	‘all’
		paasa	plant species
	/ii/ and /oo/	ʃiiʃaa	‘cursing’
		ʃooʃaa	‘roughly ground grain’
	/aa/ and /uu/	ɠaaɗɗaa	‘cow/ox cage, barn’
		ɠuuɗɗaa	type of grain store
	/aa/ and /ee/	yaala	‘labour, toiling’
		yeela	‘field along a river bank’
	/aa/ and /oo/	kaattaa	‘shade’
		koottaa	‘anus, bottom’
	/uu/ and /ee/	kuur-	‘to choke’
		keer-	‘to run [SG]’
	/uu/ and /oo/	puulluta	‘dough (fermented flour)’
		poolluta	‘hole in the ground’
	/ee/ and /oo/	needɗuta	‘hatred’
		noodɗuta	‘bribe’

2.2.4. Vowel length

Vowel length is phonemic. Below, I show the phonemic status of vowel length by providing minimal pairs for short vowels and their corresponding long vowels.

(34)	/i/ and /ii/	pisa	‘flower’
		piisa	‘all’
	/e/ and /ee/	χela	‘age mate’
		χeela	‘border, boundary’
	/u/ and /uu/	furaa	‘pad lock, key’
		fuuraa	‘fear’
	/o/ and /oo/	ʃoraa	‘jumping’
		ʃooraa	‘thin stick to punish children with’
	/a/ and /aa/	saraa	‘plunder, looting’
		saaraa	‘poem’

In word final position, we find vowel length contrast of /a/ and /aa/ as shown in (35).

(35)	/a/ and /aa/	dîla	‘field, farm’
		dîlaa	‘charcoal’
		moora	‘fat’
		mooraa	‘public meeting place’
		χoora	‘gathering’
		χooraa	‘appointment’

2.2.5. Vowel co-occurrences

In the following table, I present the possible sequences of vowels in lexical items: the vowels on the left-most column occur preceding the vowels on the top row. The vowels may occur short or long.

	a	e	i	o	u
a	**nama** 'person'	**maχeena** 'barren cow'	**karitta** 'stomach'	**aakkootita** 'female animal'	**paaʃuta** 'sideburns'
e	**seyta** 'plant sp.'	**sereeruta** 'diarrhoea'	**seettitaa** 'upper part of foot'	-------	**eetuta** 'dinner'
i	**mikta** 'right hand'	**pileeta** 'insect that feeds on moistened leather'	**irritta** 'upper arm'	**silpoota** 'hoe'	-------
o	**toma** 'bowl'	**pokkeeta** type of shorts	**sookitta** 'salt'	**poʛoota** 'mandible'	-------
u	**kuma** 'thousand'	**kulleeta** 'hat'	**ʛupitta** 'finger'	--------	**muukuta** 'frog'

Table 9: Possible sequences of vowels in lexical items

2.3. Phonotactics

We have already seen that consonant clusters do occur, but only in word-medial position. As we will see in 2.5 below, syllable onsets and codas can be filled by one consonant, and therefore consonant clusters can only occur when a closed syllable is followed by another syllable. Onsets and codas can be filled by any consonant but not all consonant sequences are allowed. The restrictions are discussed in this section. Moreover, the epenthetic vowel **i** is inserted as part of the general constraint against a sequence of three consonants, including a sequence of a geminate consonant and a non-geminate consonant. In what follows, I will present permissible sequences of consonants.

Plain stops may be followed by nasals, fricatives or the liquid /**l**/ or another plain stop. In this latter case, the first member is either a glottal stop or a bilabial plain stop and the second member is the alveolar plain stop. Plain stops do not precede implosives, glides, or the liquid /**r**/. Table 10 contains example words in which a plain stop is a first member of the cluster.

	Plain stop	Nasal	Fricative	Liquid
Plain stop	**sataʔta** ‘lung’ **apteenta** ‘snow’	**ɠapnaa** ‘possession’ **χaʔnaa** ‘rising’ **takma** ‘honey’ **yoʔmaa** ‘grindstone’	**ipsaa** ‘light’ **ɠepʃi** ‘Break (it)! **teʔʃaa** ‘elephantiasis’ **kiʔsaa** ‘fireplace’	**sipla** ‘metal’ **dɨkla** ‘elbow’

Table 10: Pain stop as a first member of a consonant cluster

Implosives may be followed by a plain stop or a liquid or by the fricatives /ʃ/ and /s/. Clusters with fricatives as second members only arise from suffixation: /ʃ/ is a causative suffix (see Section 6.1.1) while /s/ is part of a demonstrative suffix **-siʔ** (see Section 4.8). Illustrative examples are given in table 11.

	Plain stop	Liquid	Fricative
Implosive	**saraɓta** ‘calf (leg)’ **mudɗkahanta** plant species	**poɠla** ‘chief’ **ʃoloɠloɠitta** ‘claw’	**siiɓʃi** ‘Hang!’ **maɠʃi** ‘Divert!’ **saraɓsiʔ** ‘this calf (of the leg)’ **loɠsiʔ** ‘this leg’

Table 11: Implosive as a first member of a consonant cluster

Nasals may be followed by a plain stop (except for the glottal stop), an implosive (except for the bilabial implosive) or a fricative (only the labio-dental, alveolar and palato-alveolar fricatives). The palatal nasal never occurs as a first member a consonant cluster. Note that the bilabial nasal need not be homorganic with the stop (plain or implosive).

	Plain stop	Implosive	Fricative
Nasal	**kanta** 'neighbour' **kaaŋkita** 'mule' **χampirteeta** 'bird' **taamta** 'branch'	**sinɗaa** 'urine' **ʃalaɲʃalleeta** plant species **faɴɠala** 'splinter' **ɗumɗuma** 'from elbow to fingertip'	**komfa** 'shorts (cloth)' **tansa** 'dance' **kurruumʃaa** 'droppings (of goats, sheep)'

Table 12: Nasal as a first member of a consonant cluster

Fricatives may be followed by a fricative, plain stop, implosive or nasal. A liquid or glide does not follow a fricative. And as can be seen from the following table, not all fricatives, plain stops, implosives or nasals follow a fricative. There are no **ʃn** or **sn** clusters.

	Fricative	Plain stop	Implosive	Nasal
Fricative	**kurruufʃaa** 'goat/sheep droppings'	**lafta** 'bone' **koskorta** 'partridge' **koʃkoʃa** 'chicken comb' **napahta** 'ear'	**pondohdohhaata** plant species **ʃehʃeha** tree species	**moχna** 'rocky area' **pahnaa** 'example' **pohmayta** 'chameleon'

Table 13: Fricative as a first member of a consonant cluster

In some Amharic loan words, plain stops preceding /**t**/ in a cluster become /**f**/ as in (36).

(36) **taftara** < Amh. **dəbtər** 'exercise book' >
toftoritta < Amh. **doktər** 'doctor' >

A liquid may be followed by a plain stop, implosive, nasal or a fricative as shown in table 14.

	Plain stop	Implosive	Nasal	Fricative
Liquid	**kilpa** 'knee' **tulta** 'back' **alkitta** 'sisal' **arpa** 'elephant' **kaharta** 'ewe' **murkuʃaa** 'fish'	**ɓaalɓaala** 'potbellied' **ipaldi** 'It is wide.' **telɠayta** 'lizard' **sarɓaa** 'leg calves' **pardɗoota** mongoose species **tardaa** 'ash' **marʃaa** 'hip flesh' **marɠinaa** 'intestine'	**χolmaa** 'neck' **urmalaa** 'market' **irŋa** 'gum'	**χolfa** 'earring' **olsaa** 'dream' **malχaa** 'flood' **ŋirfaa** 'hair' **marsaa** 'buttocks' **karsatta** tree species **χarχarayta** 'warthog'

Table 14: Liquid as a first member of a consonant cluster

Glides do not form a second member of a consonant cluster containing implosives or fricatives or liquids. Similarly, liquids do not follow nasals or fricatives in a consonant cluster. These can be seen from the examples in table 15.

	Plain stop	Implosive	Nasal	Fricative	Liquid
Glide	**kawpa** 'beside' **kawkawa** 'jaw' **aykitta** grass species	**sawɗatta** 'clan name' **hayɗaa** 'meat fried with butter'	**tawna** 'bell' **χaynaʔtaa** 'thread' **ɗeymatta** 'irony'	**yewsi** 'this year' **kawsa** 'beard'	**ɗawraa** 'prohibition' **sayleeta** 'mane' **aylaa** 'sowing (seeds)' **ɠoyra** 'tree' **hawla** 'grave, tomb'

Table 15: Glide as a first member of a consonant cluster

2.4. Lexical variations

There is a remarkable but ill-understood lexical variation for a limited number of lexemes. Both consonant as well as vowel phonemes occur in lexical variation, but there is no phonological rule for their distribution. The phenomenon is not productive and may involve phonemes that belong to different categories. Probably it is a result of double reflexes of the same original root, a historical accident. Below I present an exhaustive list of lexical items that involve lexical variations of consonants. The variation involves both non-geminate consonants (table 16) and geminate consonants (table 17).

/ʃ/ and /ɗ/	ʃoocɠɠita ɗoocɠɠita	‘mud’
/t/ and /ɗ/	ɗarta ɗarɗaa	‘lie, untruth’
/t/ and /n/	taakite taakine[4]	‘otherwise’
/r/ and /l/	haaruta haaluta ʔarcʻuucʻaa ʔalcʻuucʻaa	‘revenge’ type of bean
/f/ and /k/	furtaa kurtaa	‘(woman’s) cotton belt’
/ʃ/ and /h/	ʃiparaata hiparaata	‘bat (animal)’
/f/ and /m/	kurruufʃaa kurruumʃaa	‘droppings (of sheep or goats)’
/ɓ/ and /f/	χorrooɓita χorroofita	cockroach species
/y/ and /w/	payraa pawraa	type of farm tool
/r/ and /y/	ʔare ʔaye	‘here’
/k/ and /χ/	kompalta χompalta	‘cactus’
/k/ and /ʃ/	kiwwayta ʃiwwayta	‘calabash with cord’

Table 16: Lexical variations involving single consonants

[4] taakine or taakite also involves vowel variation in the first syllable: tookine or tookite.

/ʃʃ/ and /cc/	ɠoraʃʃa ɠoraacca	‘medicine’
/ɓɓ/ and /ʔʔ/	leeɓɓuta leeʔʔuta	type of dance
/ɗɗ/ and /nn/	helaaɗɗa helaanna	‘earlier this day’
/tt/ and /nn/	paraatta paraanna	‘next year’
/tt/ and /ʃʃ/	laaɠɠitta[5] laaɠɠiʃʃa	‘ram’

Table 17: Lexical variation involving geminate consonants

Certain lexical items also involve variation in gemination. These are given in table 18.

/p/ and /pp/	teepaa teeppaa	‘rope’
/χ/ and /χχ/	ɗeeχa ɗeeχχaa	‘lawsuit’
/r/ and /rr/	ɗiiraa ɗiirraa tuparaa tuparraa	‘men’ ‘girls’

Table 18: Lexical variations involving gemination

No variation involving alternation between short and long vowels was found. Table 20 presents the list of lexical items involving variation for short vowels.

[5] The other form for ‘ram’ is laha. Notice that laha is irregular and that the itta of laaɠɠitta cannot be considered to be suffix here (but see 4.2.1). The iʃʃ of the form laaɠɠiʃʃa is not a suffix at all.

/i/ and /u/	ʃiɓɓoota ʃuɓɓoota	‘sin’
/i/ and /e/	inanta enanta	‘girl’
/i/ and /a/	ʃiwwayta ʃawwayta innayyaa inniyyaa	‘calabash with strip to sling on the shoulder ‘young animal, bird’
/e/ and /a/	ɲelɠaa ɲalɠaa	‘young animals, birds’

Table 20: Lexical variations involving short vowels

There are also certain lexical items in which we find lexical variation that involves long vowels as shown in the following table.

/aa/ and /oo/	taakite tookite	‘otherwise’
/aa/ and /ee/	pottaata potteeta	‘pumpkin’
/oo/ and /ii/	soonaa siinaa	‘nose’

Table 21: Lexical variation involving long vowels

2.5. Syllable Structure

Konso has both open and closed syllables. The onset and coda cannot be occupied by more than one consonant phoneme. All syllables begin with a consonant. This means that the onset is always filled. All consonant phonemes may occur in the coda position. Geminate consonants function as ambisyllabic segments, appearing as a coda of a preceding syllable and as an onset of a following syllable. The nucleus position of a syllable may have a short vowel or a long vowel.

We can formulate the following four possible syllable structures.

(37) CV
CVV
CVC
CVVC

The object pronoun form of the second person singular **ke** is the only independent word with a CV syllable structure. Similarly, except for the numerals **ken** ‘five’ and **leh** ‘six’ with a CVC structure, an independent word consists minimally of two syllables.

2.5.1. Syllable patterns in nouns

Noun roots always add a suffix or a terminal vowel (**a**, **aa**). All noun roots are monosyllabic. Below, I show the syllable patterns of nominal stems, since the addition of a suffix or a terminal vowel alters the canonical shape of the syllable patterns. Nominal stems may have disyllabic (38a), trisyllabic (38b) or four syllabic (38c) canonical patterns.

(38a)	$C_1V.C_2V$	**pora**	'road'
		tika	'house'
	$C_1VC_2.C_3V$	**ɗahta**	'firefly'
		harka	'hand'
		tawna	'bell'
		χolfa	'earring'
	$C_1V.C_2VV$	**taraa**	'ash'
		ɗilaa	'charcoal'
		kosaa	'granary'
		tiraa	'liver'
	$C_1VC_2.C_3VV$	**karmaa**	'lion'
		kanɗaa	plant species
		karkaa	'beehive'
		ɲirfaa	'hair'
	$C_1VC_2.C_2VV$	**ʃaɓɓaa**	'weed'
		kappaa	'wheat'
	$C_1VV.C_2V$	**miira**	'anger'
		kuufa	'manure, pile of cow dung'
		moora	'fat'
	$C_1VVC_2.C_3V$	**moonta**	'sky'
		poorta	'barley'
		tookta	'profit'
	$C_1VVC_2.C_2V$	**mootta**	'friend'
		teetta	'threshing ground'
	$C_1VV.C_2VV$	**maakaa**	'snake'
		mooraa	'public place'
		tooraa	'opposition'

	$C_1VVC_2.C_{2,3}VV$	aappaa	‘father’
		aakkaa	‘grandfather’
		paankaa	‘machete’
		waakkaa	‘wooden grave monument’
		aannaa	‘milk’
(38b)	$C_1V.C_2VC_3.C_{3,4}V$	ɠupitta	‘finger’
		apitta	‘fire’
		ilkitta	‘tooth’
		ɗakinta	‘body, skin’
		sataʔta	‘heart’
		kollatta	‘hide’
	$C_1V.C_2VV.C_3V$	mukuuka	‘wooden tool for weaving’
		ɗukeeta	‘wood dust produced by wood-boring insects’
	$C_1VC_2.C_{2,3}VV.C_4V$	silpoota	‘hoe’
		talteeta	‘she-goat’
		pottaata	‘pumpkin’
		kulleeta	‘cape’
	$C_1VV.C_2V.C_3V$	ɗuusuta	‘fart’
		muukuta	‘frog’
		paaʃuta	‘sideburns’
	$C_1VVC_2.C_2V.C_3V$	poolluta	‘a hole in the ground’
		maammata	‘aunt’
		laaɠɠuta	‘bread’
	$C_1VC_2.C_3VC_3.C_4V$	partupta	‘September’
		parnanta	‘split between buttocks’
	$C_1VC_2.C_3VVC_4.C_4V$	halkeetta	‘night’
	$C_1V.C_2VVC_3.C_3VV$	pakaannaa	edible tuber species
(38c)	$C_1C_2V.C_3VC_4.C_4V$	ɠinaʔitta	‘rib’
		maraʔitta	grass species
		χolaʔitta	cactus species

2.5.2. Syllable patterns in verb roots

Except a handful of verb roots (see (47) below), verbal roots are closed syllables with monosyllabic (the majority) or disyllabic templates. I could not find an underived trisyllabic verb root. In (39), I provide the canonical shapes of the verb roots arranged in their frequency of occurrence, from most to least frequent.

(39) CVC-
CVVC-
CVCC-
CVVCC-
CVCV(V)C-
CVCCV(V)C-
CVVCCVVC-
CVC[i]-

Below, I give illustrative examples for the canonical shapes presented in (39). The verb roots in (40a) have the CVC- structure whereas those in (40b) have the CVVC- structure.

(40a)	C1VC2	ɗam-	'to eat'
		muk-	'to sleep'
		ɠal-	'to slaughter'
		ɠot-	'to dig'
(40b)	C1VVC2	ʃiiʃ-	'to curse'
		ɗaaʃ-	'to give'
		keer-	'to run[SG]'
		puuf-	'to spray'
		pooy-	'to cry'

The verb roots in (41) have the CVCC- structure. The CC of the verb root structure can be a geminate consonant (41a) or a cluster of consonants (41b).

(41a)	C1VC2C2	mitt-	'to sever, pick (a fruit)[SG]'
		kull-	'to enter'
		piɗɗ-	'to buy[SG]'
		ɠiʃʃ-	'to destroy, demolish'
(41b)	C1VC2C3	tarp-	'to cross, bypass'
		teym-	'to forget'
		kirp-	'to sing, dance'
		erk-	'to send'
		ɗink-	'to kiss'
		hawl-	'to bury'

The verb roots in (42) have the CVVCC- syllable pattern. The CC is a geminate consonant. CVVCC verb root structures in which CC is a cluster of consonants have not been attested.

(42)	C1VVC2C2	kaaɓɓ-	‘to be jealous’
		needɗ-	‘to hate’
		puull-	‘to ferment’
		paayy-	‘to start’
		tuull-	‘to cross over’

The verb roots in (43a) have the CVCVC- structure while those in (43b) have the CVCVVC- structure.

(43a)	C1V.C2VC3	opay-	‘to give light’
		ɗakay-	‘to hear’
		ɗeham-	‘to advise’
		ɲapal-	‘to spoil’
(43b)	C1V.C2VVC3	oraap-	‘to fetch water’
		malaal-	‘to be unable to’
		aχaaw-	‘to roast’
		paɗaaw-	‘to add, increase’
		ɠaniin-	‘to bite’
		suraaw-	‘to hurt’

The verb roots in (44) have the CVCCVC- structure where the CC is a consonant cluster (44a) or a geminate (44b):

(44a)	C1VC2.C3VVC4	anɠal-	‘to cook’
		marmaɗ-	‘to deny, betray’
(44b)	C1VC2.C2VVC3	immak-	‘to fill’
		ullup-	‘to cry for help’
		ʃaɠɠal-	‘to stick to’
		ɠaɗɗaap-	‘to catch up with’
		tuɠɠuur-	‘to push’
		haɗɗuun-	‘to hold (a child)’
		ɠappaaʃ-	‘to swell’

The following verb root has a canonical shape CVV.CVVC.

(45)	$C_1VV.C_2VVC_3$	tiitaaw-	‘to return’

The verb roots in (46) have the shape CVVCCVVC-. This canonical shape of verb roots is the longest, and, as we can see from the examples below, it seems

that the verb root is a full reduplication of CVVC. However, the CVVC- does not occur alone to give the meaning of the whole verbal root.

(46)	C1VVC2.C3VVC4-	**ɠaarɠaar-**	'to help, assist'
		ɠaatɠaat-	'to chase closely'
		taaltaal-	'to stagger'

So far, all the canonical shapes of the verb roots that we have seen are **C** final. However, a small set of verb roots have an optional final **V**. The optional final vowel is always [**i**]. In (47), I give a near-exhaustive list of such verb roots.

(47)	**as[i]-**	'to wait'
	ɗaʔt[i]-	'to smear, paint'
	pir[i]-	'to finish'
	pal[i]-	'to ripen; ready to eat'
	ker[i]-	'to grow old'
	par[i]-	'to sunrise; day break'
	faʔ[i]-	'to pack a load'
	heer[i]-	'to buy[PL]'
	raaʔ[i]-	'to hang down'
	sooh[i]-	'to twist together (e.g. thread)'
	keeʔ[i]-	'to belch'
	kaaʔ[i]-	'to tear, split'

The above exceptional set of verb roots acquire the canonical shape **CVCV** when an affix which is, or which begins with, a consonant follows the verb root. For example, in (48), the verb root **ker-** 'grow old' gains a **CVCV** structure because it is followed by the third person feminine gender agreement maker **-t** in (48a) and the present imperfective suffix **-ni** in (48b). When the verb root is followed by an affix that is, or begins with, a vowel, the canonical shape of the verb root becomes **CVC** as in (49).

(48a) **alleetasiʔ ʔikeriti**
alleeta-siʔ *i=keri-t-i*
hut-DEF.M/F 3=grow.old-3F-PF
'The hut got old.'

(48b) **ɠoroosiniɗ ɗettow ikerini**
ɠoraa-osiniʔ *ɗettow* *i=keri-ni*
trees-DEM.P quickly 3=be.old-IPF.PRES
'These trees grew old quickly.'

(49a) **namasiʔ ʔikeray**
nama-siʔ *i=ker-ay*
man-DEF.M/F 3=be.old-PF[3M]
'The man grew old.'

(49b) **okkattoosiɗ ɗettow ʔinkeru**
okkatta-osiʔ *ɗettow* *in=ker-u*
cow-DEM.M/F soon 3NEG=be.old-NEG.IPF.FUT
'This cow will not be old soon.'

In the following examples, I show the opposition between the verb roots ker[i]- 'to grow old' and fer- 'to harvest'. The examples show that the [i] of the verb root ker[i] cannot be regarded to be an epenthetic vowel (see 2.6).

(50a) **iʃeennaʔ ʔikeriti**
iʃeenna-ʔ *i=keri-t-i*
3SGF.PRO-NOM 3=grow.old-3F-PF
'She grew old.'

(50b) **iʃeennaʔ ʔunta-siʔ ʔiferti**
iʃeenna-ʔ *unta-siʔ* **i=fer-t-i**
3SGF.PRO-NOM crop-DEF.M/F 3=harvest-3F-PF
'She harvested the crops.'

The verb root **c-** 'to be, exist' seems to be an example of a verb root consisting of a single consonants. This is the only example I found. However, when I questioned the phonemic status of /**c**/ in 2.1.2, I also pointed out that underlyingly **c-** has the **CVC-** verb root **kiy-** or **kit-**. Thus, I argue that there are no verb roots consisting of single consonants in Konso.

2.6. Epenthesis and syllable sequences

An epenthetic vowel **i** is inserted as a resolution of a general constraint against a sequence of three consonants. The insertion of the epenthetic vowel is mainly observed in verbal roots with **CC** (geminate or consonant cluster) to which verbal suffixes are added. In the following examples, the epenthetic vowel is shown in the phonetic forms (first line) but not in the underlying forms (second line).

(51a) **Apittuʔ ʔakalasiʔ ʔikulliʃay**
Apittu-ʔ *akala-siʔ* *i=kull-ʃ-ay*
Apittu-NOM sack-DEF.M/F 3=enter-DCAUS-PF[3M]
'Apittu put the sack in the house.'

(51b) **inantasik kutasiʔ ʔiʔakkiti**
inanta-siʔ *kuta-siʔ* *i=akk-t-i*
girl-DEF.M/F dog-DEF.M/F 3=see-3F-PF
'The girl saw the dog.'

(51c) **iʃinaχ χala kirpa ikkirpitin**

iʃina-ʔ	*χala*	*kirpa*	*iʔ=kirp-t-i-n*
2PL.PRO-NOM	yesterday	song	2=sing-2-PF-P

'You (PL) sang a song yesterday.'

(51d) **namasiʛ tiltilaasiniʛ ʛaran intarpini**

nama-siʔ	*tiltilaa-siniʔ*	*ʛara-n*
man-DEF.M/F	rope-DEF.P	on-PATH

in=tarp-n-i
3NEG=cross-NEG-PF
'The man did not cross the bridge.'

The strategy of inserting the epenthetic vowel **i** to prevent a sequence of three consonants is also attested in other Cushitic languages such as Oromo (Owens 1985:22), Diraytata (Wondwosen 2007:13), Gawwada (Geberew 2005:11), Ts'makko (Savá 2005:36) and Dhaasanac (Tosco 2001:53).

2.7. Phonological processes

In this section, I treat the phonological processes of inserting /ʔ/ to prevent onsetless syllables, as well as devoicing, assimilation, spirantisation and labialisation. These processes occur independently of the morphemes involved and independently of morphological structure. Phonological processes that are restricted to certain morphemes are discussed seperately as morphophonological processes. The phonological process of inserting the epenthetic vowel **i** to avoid clusters of three consonants was already discussed in 2.6.

2.7.1. Insertion of /ʔ/

The glottal stop /ʔ/ is inserted to the initial position of words that begin with vowels to avoid syllables with empty onsets. This can be seen from the following examples in (52).

(52a) **antiʔ ʔapittu inʔakkay**

anti-ʔ	*Apittu*	*in=akk-ay*
1SG.PRO-NOM	Apittor	1=see-PF[3M]

'I saw Apitto.'

(52b) **iʃeennaʔ ʔideʔtị**

iʃeenna-ʔ	*i=dèy-t-i*
3SGF.PRO-NOM	3=come-3F-PF

'She came.'

2.7.2. Devoicing

Short vowels as well as implosives can occur devoiced. The devoicing of short vowels occurs when they appear utterance final and have low tone, as shown in (53a-c). High-toned short vowels in utterance final position are not devoiced, as in (53d).

(53a) **raakasiʔ ʔimuktḭ**

raaka-siʔ	*i = muk-t-i*
old.woman-DEF.M/F	3 = sleep-3F-PF

'The old woman slept.'

(53b) **antik kulin aanạ**

anti-ʔ	kuli = *in*	*aan-a*
1SG.PRO-NOM	later = 1	go-IPF.FUT

'I will go later.'

(53c) **indaammḭ**

in = dam-ni
1 = eat-IPF.PRES
'I eat (it).'

(53d) **indammí**

in = dam-n-í
3NEG = eat-NEG-PF
'He/she/they did not eat (it).'

The phenomenon of devoicing short vowels in utterance final position has been reported for Oromo (Bender, et al. 1976:132, Stroomer 1995:15).

In Konso, implosives are devoiced when they occur as geminate, as shown in (54a). Remember that consonant clusters and geminate consonants occur only in word medial position. Single implosives do not occur devoiced, as the data in (54b) show.

(54a)	/ʃaɓɓaa/	[ʃaɓ̥ɓ̥aa]	'weed'
	/hadḍaa/	[haḍ̥ḍ̥aa]	'venom'
	/peeɠɠaa/	[peeɠ̥ɠ̥aa]	'quarrel'
	/piʃʃitta/	[piʃ̥ʃ̥ittạ̥]	crop species

(54b)	ɠoyrạ̥	'tree'
	kodaa	'work'
	hanʃufaa	'saliva'
	saraɓtạ̥	'calf (of a leg)'
	daʔtạ̥	'butter'

Except in the remainder of this chapter, I will not mark devoiced sounds in the subsequent chapters of this thesis.

2.7.3. Assimilation

As we shall see below, we find both progressive (anticipatory) and regressive assimilation. The sounds that involve phonological assimilation include the alveolar nasal /**n**/ and the plain stops /**k**/ and /**p**/.

The alveolar nasal as part of a lexical root or a grammatical morpheme shows progressive or regressive assimilation in place as well as voice. The assimilation may be partial or complete. Phoneme /**n**/ assimilates progressively in place of articulation to following plain stops, implosives and fricatives. In (55), I first give the allophones and the phonetic environments that trigger the assimilation of the phoneme /**n**/ in (55), and then provide illustrative examples in (56).

(55) [ŋ] before /**k**/
[ɴ] before uvulars /**χ, ɢ̊**/
[ɱ] before /**f**/
[ɲ] before palatals /**c, ʃ, ʄ**/
[m] before /**p**/ and /**ɓ**/ in verbs

(56a) /**ɗankaa**/[**ɗaŋgaa**] ‘throat’
/**paankaa**/ [**paaŋgaa**] ‘sword’
/**ponkora**/ [**poŋgorạ**] ‘young man’

(56b) /**ʃunχaa**/ [**ʃuɴχaa**] ‘dense (e.g. forest)’
/**fanɢ̊ala**/ [**faɴɢ̊alạ**] ‘splinter’
/**ɢ̊oonɢ̊ita**/ [**ɢ̊ooɴɢ̊itạ**] ‘throat’

(56c) /**konfa**/ [**koɱfạ**] ‘pocketless shorts’
/**ʃinfoota**/ [**ʃiɱfootạ**] ‘stick with metal end’

(56d) /**hanʃufaa**/ [**haɲʃufaa**] ‘saliva’

(56e) **impanní**
in=pan-n-í
3NEG=open-NEG-PF
‘He/she/they did not open the door.’

The alveolar nasal /**n**/ as a morpheme (for example, marking the first person plural) or part of a morpheme (for example, part of the present imperfective morpheme (**-ni**)) regressively and completely assimilates in place and manner

of articulation to one of these verb root final sounds **m**, **l**, **r** as can be seen from the following illustrative examples.

(57a) **χarʃasiʔ ʔindammi̯**

χarʃa-siʔ	*in=dam-n-i*
beans-DEF.M/F	1=eat-1PL-PF

'We ate the beans.'

(57b) **attik kappaasit tummi̯**

atti-ʔ	*kappaa-siʔ=iʔ*	*tum-ni*
2SG.PRO-NOM	wheat-DEF.M/F=2	thresh-IPF.PRES

'You (SG) are threshing the wheat.'

(58a) **tikupa kallą̣**

tika-opa	*kal-n-a*
house-to	return.home-1PL-OPT

'Let's go home.'

(58b) **ɢoyraasil luukkata idallį̣**

ɢoyra-asiʔ	*luukkata*	*i=dal-ni*
tree-DEM.M/F	fruit	3=bear-IPF.PRESS

'This tree bears fruit.'

(59a) **ɢoyraasim murrą̣**

ɢoyra-asiʔ	*mur-n-a*
tree-DEM.M/F	cut[SG]-1PL-OPT

'Let's cut this tree.'

(59b) **inantasiʔ ʔiχarri̯**

inanta-siʔ	*i=χar-ni*
girl-DEF.M/F	3=shiver-IPF.PRES

'The girl is shivering.'

As can be seen from the above examples, /**n**/ regressively assimilates completely to a verb root final bilabial nasal as in (57) or liquid as in (58-59).

The plain stops /**k**/ and /**p**/ assimilate in voice to preceding voiced obstruents. /**k**/ has a voiced velar variant [**g**] when preceded by a voiced consonant as the data in (60a) show. /**p**/ has a voiced bilabial variant [**b**] when preceded by nasal consonants as the data in (60b) illustrate. The other plain stops /**t**/ and /**c**/ do not show voicing assimilation.

(60a) /k/ > [g]/ C- where C is a voiced phoneme

/ilkitta/	[ilgittaˌ]	‘tooth’
/ɗankaa/	[ɗaŋgaa]	‘throat’
/aykitta/	[aygittaˌ]	grass species
/alkitta/	[algittaˌ]	‘sisal’

(60b) /p/ > [b]/ C- where C is a nasal consonant

/rumpatta/	[rumbattaˌ]	‘foam (of saliva)’
/tampoota/	[tambootaˌ]	‘tobacco’
/ɗompolta/	[ɗomboltaˌ]	‘chunk of soil’
/haampata/	[haambataˌ]	‘calabash to drink from’
/timpaa/	[timbaa]	‘drum’

2.7.4. Spirantisation

The phonemes /p/ and /ɓ/ are spirantised and have the voiceless bilabial fricative variant [ɸ] between two vowels as in (61a), preceding or following a resonant consonant as in (61b) or following a vowel in a consonant cluster with t as a second non-sonorant as in (61c). The spirantisation of the phonemes does not take place when they occur word initial or as geminate as in (61d).

(61a)	/tapayta/	[taɸaytaˌ]	‘rat’
	/apitta/	[aɸittaˌ]	‘fire’
	/hapura/	[haɸuraˌ]	‘spirit’
	/ʃapara/	[ʃaɸaraˌ]	‘rag’
	/kaɓa/	[kaɸaˌ]	‘canal’
	/hiiɓa/	[hiiɸaˌ]	‘meat soup’
(61b)	/ɠolpa/	[ɠolɸaˌ]	‘he-goat’
	/kilpa/	[kilɸaˌ]	‘knee’
	/ɗapna/	[ɗaɸnaˌ]	‘side of the face, temple’
	/arpa/	[arɸaˌ]	‘elephant’
	/silpa/	[silɸaˌ]	‘metal, iron’
(61c)	/saalpataa/	[saalɸataa]	‘belt’
	/kaypaata/	[kayɸaataˌ]	‘(skin) rash’
	/hiɓta/	[hiɸtaˌ]	‘lip’
	/saraɓta/	[saraɸtaˌ]	‘calf (of leg)’
	/χoɓta/	[χoɸtaˌ]	‘shoe’
(61d)	paala	[paalaˌ]	‘feather’
	ɓuɓɓaa	[ɓuˌɓˌaa]	‘egg (Karatte dialect)’
	tappa	[tappaˌ]	‘seven’
	ʃaaɓɓaa	[ʃaaˌɓˌaa]	‘stretcher’

2.7.5. Labialisation

Labialisation of the initial consonant takes place when the glottal stop /ʔ/ is elided between /o/ and /a(a)/ vowels. The elision of the glottal stop results in the vowel sequence /oa(a)/. Since the language does not have diphthongs, it appears that /o/ is raised, yielding a labialised consonant. Illustrative examples are given in (61).

(61)			
	soʔaayta	[sʷaaytạ]	'witch doctor'
	ɗoʔayta	[ɗʷaytạ]	'hide for carrying things'
	soʔaa	[sʷaa]	'meat'
	loʔaa	[lʷaa]	'cow'

We also find labialisation when such verb roots as toʔ- 'die [SG]', χoʔ- 'like very much', ɗoʔ- 'to jump' are followed by the [3M] perfect aspect marker -ay or the future imperfective aspect marker -a. For example, in (62a) t and χ are labialised because the verb roots toʔ- 'to die' and χoʔ- 'to like very much' (62b) are followed by -ay and -a, respectively. On the other hand, in (63), t and χ are not labialised because the verb roots are followed by the third person feminine gender marker -t, which does not result in the context that triggers labialisation.

(62a) ɠimaytasiʔ ʔitʷay

ɠimayta-siʔ	*i=toʔ-ay*
old.man-DEF.M/F	3=die-PF[3M]

'The old man died.'

(62b) hamiyaasiʔ luukkata ʔiχʷạ

hamiyaa-siʔ	*luukkata*	*i=χoʔ-a*
boy-DEF.M/F	fruit	3=like.very.much-IPF.FUT

'The boy likes fruit very much.'

(63a) raakasiʔ ʔitoʔtị

raaka-siʔ	*i=toy-t-i*
old.woman-DEF.M/F	3=die-3F-PF

'The old woman died.'

(63b) inantasil luukkata iχoʔtạ

inanta-siʔ	*luukkata*	*i=χoʔ-t-a*
girl-DEF.M/F	fruit	3=like.very.much-IPF.FUT

'The girl likes fruit very much.'

2.8. Morphophonemic processes

In this section, I treat the morphophonemic processes of eliding the glottal stop, and also replacing it with the palatal glide (2.8.1), metathesis (2.8.2), assimilation involving the causative and middle derivation (2.8.3), assimilation involving verb root final **t** (2.8.4), assimilation involving **n** in subject clitics (2.8.5), assimilation involving the glottal stop in cliticisation (2.8.6), vowel coalescence (2.8.7) and haplology (2.8.7). I consider processes that are restricted to certain lexemes or morphemes as morphophonemic processes.

2.8.1. Elision of /ʔ/

The glottal stop is optionally elided when it is a first member of a consonant cluster in nominals. After the elision, the vowel preceding it is lengthened. The following are illustrative examples:

(64)	/yoʔmatta/	[yoomatta̤]	‘millstone’
	/ɗaʔta/	[ɗaata̤]	‘butter’
	/χaʔtiya/	[χaatiya̤]	‘fly’
	/kupaʔtaa/	[kupaataa]	‘tortoise’
	/sataʔta/	[sataata̤]	‘heart’
	/toʔta/	[toota̤]	‘death’
	/kalaʔta/	[kalaata̤]	‘spider’
	/χaʔnaa/	[χaanaa]	‘waking up; resurrection’

The glottal stop /ʔ/ is optionally replaced by the glide **y** when it occurs between two vowels, of which the one following the glottal stop is a high front vowel /i/. The available examples have the singulative suffix **-itta** as in (65a). The plurative forms of the singulatives, however, occur only with the glottal stop rather than with the palatal glide as shown in (65b); (also see Section 4.2.1).

(65a)	ɠinaʔitta̤	ɠinayitta̤	‘rib’
	χolaʔitta̤	χolayitta̤	cactus species
	maraʔitta̤	marayitta̤	grass species
	saʔitta̤	sayitta̤	‘seed corn for root crops’
	riwwaʔitta̤	riwwayitta̤	‘the Milky Way’
(65b)	ɠinaʔitta̤	ɠinaʔiyyaa	‘rib’
	χolaʔitta̤	χolaʔiyyaa	cactus species
	maraʔitta̤	maraʔiyyaa	grass species
	saʔitta̤	saʔiyyaa	‘seed corn for root crops’
	riwwaʔitta̤	riwwaʔiyyaa	‘the Milky Way’

2.8.2. Metathesis

The phenomenon of metathesis is limited to certain lexemes and may take place in consonant clusters or across syllables. Lexemes that allow metathesis in consonant clusters require the alveolar lateral liquid /l/ to be either the first or the second member in a consonant cluster. In some cases speakers show preference to one or the other of the forms, but in other cases no such preference is expressed. For instance, the variants listed in the left column in (66a) are preferred to those in the right column, while with the variants in (66b) no such preference is expressed.

(66a)	kilpạ	~ kiplạ	‘knee’
	ilkitta	~ iklittạ	‘tooth’
	ɗiklạ	~ ɗilkạ	‘elbow’
	poɠlạ	~ polɠạ	‘clan chief’
	siklaa	~ silkaa	‘(poison from) bee or wasp sting’
	ɠolfaa	~ ɠoflaa	‘bark (of tree)’
(66b)	sipla	~ silpa	‘mental’
	siploota	~ silpoota	‘hoe’

Consonant clusters containing glides as a first member followed by the alveolar lateral liquid /l/ as a second member do not allow metathesis as shown in (67).

(67)	kaylaa	~ *kalyaa	‘tassel’
	pawlaa	~ *palwaa	‘old Ethiopian coin’
	hawlạ	~ *halwaa	‘grave, tomb’

In the following words, metathesis takes place after vowel deletion in the second syllable.

(68)	χosalaa	~ χolsaa	‘laughter’
	afurattạ	~ arfattạ	‘fourth’

There are certain Amharic loan words that exhibit metathesis. The first two also show metathesis in Amharic, but the last one does not undergo metathesis in this language.

(69)	kipriteetạ	~ kirpiteetạ	‘match’ (Amh. kɨbrit ~ kɨrbit)
	iskiriptootạ	~ iskipirtootạ	‘pen’ (Amh. ɨskɨripto ~ ɨskɨpirto)
	taaksitạ	~ taaskitạ	‘taxi’ (Amh. taksi)

It is difficult to formulate a general rule for metathesis across syllables. Below, I give an exhaustive list of the nouns that show metathesis across syllables.

(70)	katipaytạ	~ kapitaytạ	plant species
	arasaa	~ asaraa	'local drink made for sale'
	punsukkaytạ	~ punkussayta	'owl'
	hinkaaʃʃatạ	~ hinʃaakkatạ	'ant'[6]
	moɠorɠorissạ	~ moroɠroɠissạ	weed species

For the first three nouns, the variants on the left are preferred, while for the last two the variants do not show any preference.

As mentioned earlier, the phenomenon of metathesis is limited to certain lexemes. In the following data in (71), we find that the lexemes contain consonant clusters /lp/ or /pl/, but they do not allow metathesis. Notice that in the majority of the instances, the consonant cluster is /lp/.

(71)	saalpatạ	*saaplatạ	'belt'
	ɠolpạ	*ɠoplạ	'he-goat'
	saalpuuɠaa	*saapluuɠaa	'skunk'
	palpalaytạ	*paplalayta	'joker.M'
	ɠalpeetạ	*ɠapleetạ	'good manner'
	talpootị	*taplootị	woman's name
	tulpeetạ	*tupleetạ	'hippopotamus'
	eplaa	*elpaạ	'season when ripening begins'
	χalpạ	*χapla	'seventy-five cents'
	kulpạ	*kuplạ	'gourd for carrying water'

2.8.3. Assimilation involving the causative and middle derivation

The (direct) causative suffix -ʃ and the middle suffix -aɗ also involve assimilation with certain morphemes. See Section 6.1.1 and 6.1.2 for details of causative derivation and middle derivation, respectively.

The causative suffix is realised as /s/ when followed by other derivations. For example, in (72a), the causative suffix is followed by the middle derivational suffix -aɗ, in (72b) by the passive derivational suffix -am, and in (73) by the voiceless alveolar stop /t/. The voiceless alveolar stop may be a 3F marker (73a), second person marker (73b) or part of the verbal nominal derivational suffix -taa (73c). In fact, the voiceless alveolar stop also becomes a voiceless alveolar fricative /s/. Thus, we may argue that there is double assimilation when we have the sequence ʃt becoming /ss/: voiceless alveopalatal fricative ʃ becomes voiceless alveolar fricative s, and a voiceless alveolar stop /t/ also changes to a voiceless alveolar fricative s.

[6] Notice that in the word hinkaaʃʃata 'ant', the non-geminate consonant /k/ becomes geminate when it is relocated in the position of the geminate /ʃ/, and the geminate /ʃ/ becomes single when relocated in the position of the non-geminate /k/.

(72a) namasit tika iharmisaɗay
nama-si? *tika* *i=harm-ʃ-aɗ-ay*
man-DEF.M/F house 3=prepare-DCAUS-MID-PF[3M]
'The man prepared a house for his benefit.'

(72b) tomasi? ʔikullisamay
toma-si? *i=kull-ʃ-am-ay*
bowl-DEF.M/F 3=enter-DCAUS-PAS-PF[3M]
'The bowl was moved into the house.'

(73a) iʃeennat talaasini? ʔikalissa
iʃeenna-? *talaa-sini?*
3SGF.PRO-NOM goats-DEF.P

i=kal-ʃ-t-a
3=return.home-DCAUS-3F-IPF.FUT
'She will bring the goats back home.'

(73b) attit taloosini? ʔikkalissa
atti-? *talaa-oosini?*
2SG.PRO-NOM goats-DEM.P

i?=kal-ʃ-t-a
2=return.home-DCUAS-2-IPF.FUT
'You (SG) will bring the goats back home.'

(73c) antiʔ ʔinnaasinil luukkata ɗamissaa immalaalay
anti-? *innaa-sini?* *luukkata*
1SG.PRO-NOM child-DEF.P fruit

ɗam-ʃ-taa *in=malaal-ay*
eat-DCAUS-VN 1=be.unable.to-PF[3M]
'I could not feed the child fruit.'

The voiceless palatal fricative ʃ at the end of verb roots may or may not be affected by derivational morphemes, and this calls for further investigation. If we take, for example, the verb root ɗiʃ- 'to plant', we do find that the final consonant remains the same despite being followed by a 3F morpheme (74a), a middle derivation (74b) or present imperfective suffix (74c). On the other hand, if we take the verb root ɗiiʃ- 'to stop, leave', we find that the verb root's final ʃ is affected when followed by a 3F morpheme as in (74d) or when followed by a middle derivation as shown in (74e).

(74a) **inantasip poɕollootasiʔ ʔidɪʃtɨ**
inanta-siʔ *poɕolloota-siʔ* *i=dɪʃ-t-i*
girl-DEF.M/F maize-DEF.M/F 3=plant-3F-PF
'The girl planted the maize.'

(74b) **attip poɕollootasiʔ ʔidɪʃattɨ**
atti-ʔ *poɕolloota-siʔ*
2SG.PRO-NOM maize-DEF.M/F

i=dɪʃ-aɗ-t-a
3=plant-MID-2-IPF.FUT
'You (SG) planted the maize for your benefit.'

(74c) **antim muusitan dɪʃannɨ**
anti-ʔ *muusita=in* *dɪʃ-ni*
1SG.PRO-NOM banana=1 plant-IPF.PRES
'I plant bananas.'

(74d) **inantasiʔ ʔanta idɪissɨ**
inanta-siʔ *an-ta* *i=dɪiʃ-t-i*
girl-DEF.M/F go-VN 3=stop-3F-PF
'The girl stopped going.'

(74e) **innaasinik kammaa ɗesa idɪisamin**
innaa-siniʔ *kamma-a* *ɗesa* *i=dɪiʃ-am-i-n*
child-DEF.P after-LOC from.side 3=stop-PAS-PF-P
'The child was abandoned.'

A verb root final ɗ does not change its features when followed by vowel-initial (derivational) suffixes as in (75). However, it becomes ʔ when followed by consonant-initial inflectional suffixes as in (76).

(75a) **χarʃasiɗ dɪluppan ɗesa ifiɗ-am-ay**
χarʃa-siʔ *dɪla-opa-n* *ɗesa*
beans-DEF.M/F field-DEST-PATH towards

i=fiɗ-am-ay
3=scatter-PASS-PF[3M]
'The beans were scattered over the field.'

(75b) **namasiɢ ɢoraasiniʔ ʔihaaɗannɨ**
nama-siʔ *ɢoraa-siniʔ* *i=haaɗ-aɗ-ni*
person-DEF.M/F tree-DEF.M/F 3=carry.PL-MID-IPF.PRES
'The person carries the trees for his benefit.'

(76a) **namasik kodaasiʔ ʔikoʔni̥**
nama-siʔ *kodaa-siʔ* *i=kod-ni*
person-DEF.M/F work-DEF.M/F 3=do-IPF.PRES
'The person does the work.'

(76b) **inantasiχ χarʃasiʔ ʔifiʔti̥**
inanta-siʔ *χarʃa-siʔ* *i=fid-t-i*
girl-DEF.M/F beans-DEF.M/F 3=scatter-3F-PF
'The girl scattered the beans.'

It is interesting to see that causative and middle behave differently in that they have allomorphs in **s** and **t**, respectively, when followed by other derivations.

The causative suffix -ʃ also completely and progressively assimilates to the alveolar nasal that marks the first person plural as in (77a) or is part of the present imperfective marker -**ni** as in (77b).

(77a) **indaminni̥**
in=dam-ʃ-n-i
1=eat-DCAUS-1PL-PF
'We fed (it).'

(77b) **antih hellaan kollinni̥**
anti-ʔ *hellaa=in* *koll-ʃ-ni*
1SG.PRO-NOM children=1 teach-DCAUS-IPF.PRES
'I teach children.'

Concerning the assimilation of the alveolar implosive of the middle derivation, we find that there is a complete regressive assimilation of the implosive when followed by /**n**/ of the first person plural marker -**n** as in (78a) or the one which is part of the present imperfective marker -**ni** as in (78b).

(78a) **χormasin katannḁ**
χorma-siʔ=in *kat-ad-n-a*
ox-DEF.M/F=1 sell-MID-1PL-IPF.FUT
'We will sell the ox for our benefit.'

(78b) **orrasiʔ ʔuntaa ipohanni̥**
orra-siʔ *ʔuntaa* *i=poh-ad-ni*
people-DEF.M/F crops 3=collect-MID-IPF.PRES
'The people are harvesting crops.'

The alveolar implosive of the middle suffix is also realised as **t** when it is followed by /**t**/ that marks second person as in (79a), third person feminine as in (79b) or the /**t**/ of the verbal nominaliser -**taá** as in (79c).

(79a) **luukkatasiʔ ʔimmittatt̪**

luukkata-siʔ	*iʔ=mitt-ad-t-a*
fruit-DEF.M/F	2=pick.SG-MID-IPF.FUT

'You (SG) will pick the fruit for your benefit.'

(79b) **aturraatasiʕ ʕoyrasiʔ ʔiʕapatt̪**

aturraata-siʔ	*ʕoyra-si*	*i=ʕap-ad-t-i*
cat-DEF.M/F	tree-DEF.M/F	3=catch-MID-3F-PF

'The cat held the tree for its benefit.'

(79c) **alleeta ʕupattaá ipaʕaar̪**

alleeta	*ʕup-ad-taá*	*i=paʕaar-i*
house	build-MID-VN	3=be.good-PF

'Building a house is good for oneself.'

2.8.4. Assimilation involving verb root final t

The alveolar voiceless stop **t** in verb final position assimilates completely in manner of articulation to the next **n**, as the following examples show.

(80a) **okkattasil lekaytan ipann̪**

okkatta-siʔ	*lekaytan*	*i=pat-ni*
cow-DEF.M/F	many.times	3=disappear-IPF.PRES

'The cow disappears many times.'

(80b) **iʃoonnaχ χarʃasiʔ ʔinkanní**

iʃoonna-ʔ	*χarʃa-siʔ*	*in=kat-n-í*
3PL.PRO-NOM	beans-DEF.M/F	3NEG=sell-NEG-PF

'They did not sell the beans.'

2.8.5. Assimilation involving n in subject clitics

The alveolar nasal in subject clitics (**in=**, **an=**) assimilates partially or completely in place of articulation to the initial consonant of the verb root or noun to which a subject clitic is encliticised. It has the allomorphs listed in (81). I provide illustrative examples in (82-86).

(81) /n/ [m] before a verb root initial bilabials / p, ɓ, m/, as in (61)
[l] before a verb root initial /l/, as in (62)
[r] before a verb root initial /r/, as in (63)
[w] before a verb root initial /w/, as in (64a)
[y] before a verb root initial /y/, as in (64b)
[ɱ] before a verb root initial /f/, as in (65a)
[ŋ] before a verb root initial /k/, as in (65b)
[ɴ] before a verb root initial /ɠ, χ/, as in (65c)

(82a) koɗaasiʔ ʔimpiraˌ
koɗaa-siʔ *in=pir-a*
work-DEF.M/F 1=finish-IPF.FUT
'I will finish the work.'

(82b) ammuknˌi
an=muk-n-i
1NEG=sleep-NEG-PF
'I did not sleep.'

(83a) illellaˌ
in=lel-n-a
1=tell-1PL-IPF.FUT
'We will tell.'

(83b) illaaɓɓinˌi
in=laaɓɓ-n-i
1=cross.over-1PL-PF
'We crossed over.'

(84a) irroopní
in=roop-n-í
3NEG-rain-NEG-PF
'It did not rain.'

(84b) irrakkay
in=rakk-ay
1=hung.SG-PF[3M]
'I hung (it).'

(85a) poɠollootasiʔ ʔiwwaannˌi
poɠolloota-siʔ *in=waat-n-i*
maize-DEF.M/F 1=roast-1PL-PF
'We roasted the maize.'

(85b) kappaasiʔ ʔiyyoocʕay
kappaa-siʔ *in=yoocʕ-ay*
wheat-DEF.M/F 1=grind-PF[3M]
'I ground the wheat.'

(86a) iŋfurtụ
in=fur-t-u
3NEG=untie-3F-NEG.IPF.FUT
'She will not untie.'

(86b) tikupa iŋkalạ
tika-opa *in=kal-a*
house-to 1=return.home-IPF.FUT
'I will go home.'

(86c) χampirteetasiʔ ʔiɴχaptay
χampirteeta-siʔ *in=χapt-ay*
bird-DEF.M/F 1=throw-PF
'I threw the bird.'

2.8.6. Assimilation of a glottal stop in encliticisation

The glottal stop that marks a certain grammatical function or is a final consonant of certain suffixes or words assimilates completely in place of articulation as well as manner of articulation to a following consonant. Below, I provide an exhaustive list of the suffixes or words in which the glottal stop occurs in final position.

The glottal stop that marks nominative case assimilates completely to the initial consonant of a following word as shown in (87).

(87a) inuɗ ɗiluppan annị
inu-ʔ *ɗila-oppa=in* *an-n-i*
1PL.PRO-NOM field-in=1 go-1PL-PF
'We went into the field.'

(87b) iʃat tikaayye icạ
iʃa-ʔ *tika-ayye* *i=kiy-a*
3SGM.PRO-NOM house-LOC 3=be-IPF.FUT
'He is at home.'

The suffixes that mark definiteness in Konso have a final glottal stop. This glottal stop assimilates completely to the initial consonant of a following constituent as shown in (88). For the details on definite reference, see Section 4.7.

(88a) **attiʃ ʃaʢaasinip pirtị**

atti-ʔ	*ʃaʢaa-siniʔ*	*iʔ=pir-t-i*
2SG.PRO-NOM	local.beer-DEF.P	2=finish-2-PF

'You (SG) finished (drinking) the local beer.'

(88b) **antit tomasik kutta iŋʃaʢay**

anti-ʔ	*toma-siʔ*	*kutt-a*
1SG.PRO-NOM	bowl-DEF.M/F	be.big-M/F

in=ʃaʢ-ay
1=wash-PF[3M]

'I washed the big bowl.'

The glottal stop that is the final consonant of the plural gender agreement marker **-aaʔ** in attributive adjectives also assimilates completely to the initial consonant of any following constituent. For example, the singular object noun **filaasiniʔ** 'the comb' in (89a) and the plural object noun **ʔokkayyaasiniʔ** 'the cows' (89b) have a plural gender value marked by **-aaʔ**. In these examples, we can see that the glottal stop assimilates completely to the initial consonant /**p**/ of the word **patta** 'only' (89a) and /**l**/ of the word **lakki** 'two' (89b).

(89a) **filaasinik kuttaap pattan akkay**

filaa-siniʔ	*kutt-aaʔ*	*patta=in*	*akk-ay*
comb-DEF.P	be.big-P	only=1	see-PF[3M]

'I saw only the big comb.'

(89b) **okkayaasinik kukuttaal lakkin akkay**

okkayaa-siniʔ	*ku-kutt-aaʔ*	*lakki=in*	*akk-ay*
cows-DEF.P	PL-be.big-P	two=1	see-PF[3M]

'I saw the two big cows.'

The glottal stop which is the final consonant of the plural gender agreement marker **-eeʔ** in relative clauses also assimilates completely to the initial consonant of any following constituent. In example (90a), we have the singular object noun **inantasiʔ** 'the girl' which has a singular gender value; in example (90b) and (90c) we have the singular object noun **innaasiniʔ** 'the child' and the plural object noun **kaharraasiniʔ** 'the sheep', respectively. These nouns have a plural gender value marked by suffix **-eeʔ**. See 4.1 on plural *gender* agreement which may include numerically singular nouns.

(90a) **inantasit tikupa ɗeʔti pattan akkay**

inanta-siʔ	*tika-opa*	*ɗey-t-i*	*patta=in*
girl-DEF.M/F	house-to	come-3F-PF	only=1

akk-ay
see-PF[3M]
'I saw only the girl who came home.'

(90b) innaasinit tikupa ɗeyayeep pattan akkay

innaa-sini?	*tika-opa*	*ɗey-ay-ee?*	*patta = in*
child-DEF.P	house-to	come-PF[3M]-P	only = 1

akk-ay
see-PF[3M]
'I saw only the child who came home.'

(90c) kaharraasinik kakkatamayeep pattan akkay

kaharraa-sini?	*kak-kat-am-ay-ee?*	*patta = in*
sheep-DEF.P	PL-sell-PAS-PF[3M]-P	only = 1

akk-ay
see-PF[3M]
'I saw only the sheep that were sold.'

The glottal stop that is the final consonant of the third person possessive suffixes (-ayʃuʔ and -ssuʔ) also assimilates completely to the initial consonant of any following constituent as demonstrated in (91). For details see Section 5.3.

(91a) okkattaayʃuχ χala itʷay

okkatta-ayʃu?	*χala*	*i = to?-ay*
cow-3PL.POSS.M/F	yesterday	3 = die[SG]-PF[3M]

'Their cow died yesterday.'

(91b) okkayyaassuχ χala ileyin

okkayaa-ssu?	*χala*	*i = ley-i-n*
cows-3PL.POSS.P	yesterday	3 = die[PL]-PF-P

'Their cows died yesterday.'

The glottal stop which is the final consonant of the demonstrative suffixes -asiʔ/-oosiʔ/-oosiniʔ also assimilates completely to the initial consonant of any following constituent as shown in (92).

(92a) kahartaasip piʃaasiniʔ ʔiʔiktḭ

kaharta-asi?	*piʃaa-sini?*	*i = ʔik-t-i*
ewe-DEM.M/F	water-DEF.P	3 = drink-3F-PF

'This ewe drank the water.'

(92b) **kaharoosinip piʃaasiniʔ ʔiʔikn̥**
kaharraa-osiʔ *piʃaa-siniʔ* *i=ʔik-i-n*
sheep-DEM.P water-DEF.P 3=drink-PF-P
'These sheep drank the water.'

The glottal stop that marks the locative case also assimilates completely to the initial consonant of any following word as shown in (93).

(93a) **ɗakaasik kirra kapaχ χaayi̥**
ɗakaa-siʔ *kirra* *kapa-ʔ* *χaay-i*
stone-DEF.M/F river near-LOC put-IMP.SG
'(You (SG)) Put the stone near the river!'

(93b) **antis silpootasiʔ ʔintikaɗ ɗiiʃay**
anti-ʔ *silpoota-siʔ* *in=tika-ʔ*
1SG.PRO-NOM hoe-DEF.M/F 1=house-LOC

ɗiiʃ-ay
leave-PF[3M]
'I left the hoe at home.'

The glottal stop that marks the genitive case also assimilates completely to the initial consonant of any following word (94).

(94) **antit taamta ɠoyram muriya inheenḁ**
anti-ʔ *taamta* *a* *ɠoyra-ʔ*
1SG.PRO-NOM branch GEN tree-GEN

mur-iya *in=heen-a*
cut-VN 1=want-IPF.FUT
'I want to cut a branch of a tree.'

The glottal stop which is the final consonant of the words **iʃuʔ** 'and', **iniʔ** 'this one', **seɗiʔ** 'this' and **seniʔ** 'these' also assimilates completely to the initial consonant of any following constituent, as illustrated in (95).

(95a) **ana iʃuk Kappooli inɗeʔni̥**
ana *ʔiʃuʔ* *Kappooli* *in=ɗey-n-i*
1SG.PRO.ACC and Kappooli 1=come-1PL-PF
'I and Kappoole came.'

(95b) **init tikaawu̥**
iniʔ *tika-awu*
this house-1SG.POSS.M/F
'This is my house.'

(95c) **sedim maanạ**
sedi? *maana*
this what
'What is this?'

(95d) **senid dillaayyụ**
seni? *dillaa-yyu*
these fields-1SG.POSS.P
'These are my fields.'

2.8.7. Vowel coalescence

There are two instances of vowel coalescence that I have discovered. Neither instance occurs with other morphemes, but both only involve the postpositions **opa** 'to' and **oppa** 'in'. The first instance involves the combination of adverbials with a final /**e**/ (e.g., **parre** 'tomorrow', **partaane** 'after tomorrow') and the postposition **opa** 'to, towards'. When the words are combined, the glottal stop of the postposition is elided, resulting in the sequence /**eo**/. Since diphthongs are not allowed, the sequence /**eo**/ becomes /**i**/ as demonstrated in (96). The combination of such adverbials and the postposition **opa** requires such verbs as **muk**- 'to sleep', **χaay**- 'to put, lay', **tuukk**- 'to push.SG' to indicate a postponement of an appointment.

(96a) **kodoosip parripa mukinnạ**
kodaa-oosi-ʔ *parre-opa* *muk-ʃ-n-a*
work-DEM.M/F tomorrow-to sleep-CAUS-1PL-OPT
'Let's postpone the work until tomorrow.'

(96b) **antoosip partaanipa tuukkinạ**
antoosi? *partaane-opa*
after tomorrow-to
'for the day after tomorrow'

We do not get vowel coalescence when the postposition **opa** occurs with the adverbs **aye** 'here' and **awwi** 'today'. We rather get **aypa** 'here (lit. to here)', and **awwipa** 'for today', respectively.

The second instance involves the postposition **oppa** 'in' or **opa** 'to, towards' when it is attached to singulative nouns that have a final short vowel **a**. In this case, the sequence /**ao**/ of the final vowel of the noun and the initial vowel of the postposition produces the vowel /**u**/. In (97a) the vowel coalescence involves the postposition **opa** whereas (97b) shows coalescence involving the postposition **oppa**.

(97a) **hemittaasip paraannupa tuukkiną**
hemitta-asi? *paraanna-opa* *tuukk-n-a*
marriage-DEM.M/F next.year-to push.SG-1PL-OPT
'Let's postpone this wedding until next year.'

(97b) **inuď ďiluppan anni̯**
inu-? *ďila-oppa=in* *an-n-i*
1PL.PRO-NOM field-in=1 go-1PL-PF
'We went into the field.'

Furthermore, when the postpositions **kapa** 'beside, near' and **opa** 'to' are combined, we get **kapupa** 'to' as in (98a). The combination of the postpositions also yields **kawpa** in fast speech by eliding the first **p** of **kapupa** and changing /u/ to /**w**/ to avoid the vowel sequence /**au**/ as in (98b).

(98a) **ana kapupa χooyi**
ana *kapa-opa* *χooy-i*
1SG.PRO.ACC near-to come-IMP.SG
'(You (SG)) Come to me!'

(98b) **ana kawpa χooyi**
ana *kapa-opa* *χooy-i*
1SG.PRO.ACC near-to come-IMP.SG
'(You (SG)) Come to me!'

2.8.8. Haplology

The suffix -**ay**, which marks perfective aspect for third person singular masculine, is optionally elided when it is attached to a verb root that has a final **ay**. The sequence of **ay-ay** is reduced to one **ay**. Verb roots with a final **ayy** or **aay** or **aayy** do not qualify for haplology. In (99a), I provide illustrative verb roots with the final **ay**; in (99b), verb roots which end in **aay**, **ayy** and **aayy** are given for comparison.

(99a) **kay-** 'to reach, arrive'
tay- 'to leave, desert'
ďay- 'to hit'
ďakay- 'to hear'

(99b) **χaay-** 'to put'
kayy- 'to jump and touch'
paayy- 'to start'

The following are illustrative sentential examples. The examples in (100a-b) occur with the reduced -ay while the equivalent examples in (100c-d) occur with the full verb root plus the 3M perfective suffix -ay.

(100a) iʃat tikuppa ikay
iʃa-ʔ *tika-oppa* *i=kay*
3SGM.PRO-NOM house-in 3=reach.PF[3M]
'He arrived at home.'

(100b) antiʔ ʔotootasiʔ ʔinɗakay
anti-ʔ *otoota-siʔ* *in=ɗakay*
1SG.PRO-NOM news-DEF.M/F 1=hear.PF[3M]
'I heard the news.'

(100c) iʃat tikuppa ikayay
iʃa-ʔ *tika-oppa* *i=kay-ay*
3SGM.PRO-NOM house-in 3=reach-PF[3M]
'He arrived at home.'

(100d) antiʔ ʔotootasiʔ ʔinɗakayay
anti-ʔ *otoota-siʔ* *in=ɗakay-ay*
1SG.PRO-NOM news-DEF.M/F 1=hear-PF[3M]
'I heard the news.'

The sentential example in (101a) has the verb root kayy- 'to jump and touch'. It ends in ayy and has the third person masculine perfective suffix -ay. And as mentioned above, such verb roots do not allow the reduction of the perfective -ay suffix as shown in (101b).

(101a) Kappoolit taamtasiʔ ʔikayyay *i=kayy-ay*
Kappooli-ʔ *taamta-siʔ* 3=jump.and.touch-PF[3M]
kappoole-NOM branch-DEF.M/F
'Kappoole jumped and touched the branch.'

(101b) *kappoolit taamtasiʔ ʔikayy
kappooli-ʔ *taamta-siʔ* *i=kayy*
kappoole-NOM branch-DEF.M/F 3=jump.and.touch
(intended: 'Kappoole jumped and touched the branch.')

2.9. Tone

Konso has low and high tone levels which do not have a lexical role, but rather a grammatical role. In this work, only high tone is marked with an acute stroke (´). Despite my countless efforts, and the many efforts I made with colleagues like Constance Kutsch Lojenga and Anne-Christie Hellenthal, the full account

of tone (or maybe pitch-accent) of the language still remains ill understood. The grammatical roles of tone that I am able to identify include making a distinction between the nominative and the accusative (cleft construction) and indicating contrasts in person-marking between some affirmative and negative paradigms.

The tonal distinction between nominative and accusative case is that a noun in the nominative has a low tone as in (102a) while the same noun has a high tone in the accusative case as in (102b). The sentence in (102b) is a cleft construction (details appear in Section 3.5).

(102a) **oraaytaa kuta ɠaniinay**
oraayta=i *kuta* *ɠaniin-ay*
hyena=3 dog bite-PF[3M]
'A hyena bit a dog.'

(102b) **oraaytaá kuta ɠaniinay**
oraayta=í *kuta* *ɠaniin-ay*
hyena=3.ACC dog bite-PF[3M]
'It is a dog that bit a hyena.'

Another grammatical role that tone plays is that it distinguishes first person singular present imperfective (103a) from third person perfective negative, as in (103b). It also distinguishes first person singular in the present imperfective (103a repeated as 104a) from first person plural in the perfective as in (104b). In this case, the final vowel of the sentence with the first person singular carries a low tone whereas the third person or first person plural has a high tone as illustrated in (103). The distinction between the first person plural and the third person negative is made only on the basis of a discourse context.

(103a) **inanni̥**
in=an-ni
1=go-IPF.PRES
'I go/I am going.'

(103b) **in=an-n-í**
3NEG=go-NEG-PF
'He/She/They did not go.'

(104a) **inanni̥**
in=an-ni
1=go-IPF.PRES
'I go/I am going.'

(104b) **in = an-n-í**
1 = go-1PL-PF
'We went.'

3. Simple sentences

This chapter describes the basic structure of simple sentences. It presents simple verbal sentences, adjectival sentences, subject clitics, nominal sentences and cleft sentences.

3.1. Verbal simple sentences

Verbal simple affirmative declarative sentences may contain overt subjects, verb roots with (affirmative or negative) subject clitics and inflectional suffixes. There is no marking to show that a sentence is declarative. They are only characterised by a sentence-final falling intonation (Ongaye 2000). The basic word order in simple sentences is SOV. This is shown in (1):

(1a) **attiχ χarʃa iɗɗammi**
atti-ʔ *χarʃa* *iʔ=ɗam-ni*
2SG.PRO-NOM beans 2=eat-IPF.PRES
'You (SG) eat beans.'

(1b) **antik kulleetasiʔ ʔinɠeeɗa**
anti-ʔ *kulleeta-siʔ* *in=ɠeeɗ-a*
1SG.PRO-NOM hood-DEF.M/F 1=take-IPF.FUT
'I will take the hood.'

As is apparent in the above examples, (1a) contains the overt subject **ʔatti** 'you (SG)', the overt object **χarʃa** 'beans', the second person subject clitic **iʔ=**, the verb root **ɗam-** 'eat', and the aspect marker **-ni**. Similarly, (1b) contains the overt subject **anti** 'I', the overt object **kulleetasiʔ** 'the hood', the first person subject clitic **in=**, the verb root **ɠeeɗ-** 'take' and the imperfective future aspect marker **-a** on the verb.

Overt subjects, such as **anti** 'I' and **atti** 'you (SG)' in (1) can be optionally left out because they are understood from the type of the subject clitics and the gender agreement markers on the verb. For instance, example (2a) and (2b) are such versions of the example in (1a) and (1b), respectively.

(2a) **χarʃa iɗɗammi**
χarʃa *iʔ=ɗam-ni*
beans 2=eat-IPF.PRES
'You (SG) eat beans.'

(2b) **kulleeta-siʔ** **in=ɠeeɗ-a**
hood-DEF.M/F 1=take-IPF.FUT
'I will take the hood.'

A simple verbal sentence with transitive verb roots may also occur with covert subjects and objects. As mentioned earlier, covert subjects are understood from the type of subject clitics and the gender agreement markers on the verb. For covert objects, there are no such clues. They are understood only from an earlier mention in a discourse. For instance, if we omit the subject and object of the examples in (1), we get the sentences in (3):

(3a) **iɗɗammi**
iʔ =ɗ*am-ni*
2 = eat-IPF.PRES
'You (SG) eat (it).'

(3b) **in = ɠeeɗ-a**
1 = take-IPF.FUT
'I will take (it).'

In the literature on Konso, various terms have been used for subject clitics: preverbals (Black 1973; Ongaye 2000, 2004), person indices (Sim 1977, Daudey & Hellenthal 2004). In this work, I choose the term "subject clitics" because they are clitics and always indicate the person value of the subject.

Most sentences contain one subject clitic. The position of subject clitics in the sentences is mainly with the verb of the sentence. However, they can be procliticised or encliticised to other constituents of a sentence, as we shall see below. The subject clitics do not distinguish gender or number; they only distinguish person. Gender (and person/number) is marked by the inflectional suffix on the verb. Without an overt subject, it is only the subject clitics that distinguish between second person singular and third person singular feminine, which have the same verb form, as shown below.

(4a) **iʔʔanti**
iʔ =*an-t-i*
2 = go-2-PF
'You (SG) went.'

(4b) **iʔanti**
i* = *an-t-i
3 = go-3F-PF
'She went.'

We identify different forms of affirmative and negative subject clitics for various persons depending on the sentence/clause type. The following table presents these forms.

Sentence/Clause type	Affirmative			Negative		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
Verbal/Adjectival	**in=**	**iʔ=**	**i=**	**an=**	**aʔ=**	**in=**
Nominal	**an=**	**aʔ=**	-	-	-	-
Optative/Imperative	-	-	-	-	**in=**	**in=**

Table 1: Forms of subject clitics

With explicit subject and object, the subject clitics may occur in any of the following four positions: as a proclitic to the verb as in (5a), as an enclitic to the object as in (5b), as a proclitic to the object as in (5c), or as an enclitic to the subject as in (5d).

(5a) **inuk kuufa inhaaʔni**
inu-ʔ *kuufa* *in=haaɗ-n-i*
1PL.PRO-NOM cow.dung.pile 1=carry-1PL-PF
'We carried a cow dung pile.'

(5b) **inuk kuufan haaʔni**
inu-ʔ *kuufa=in* *haaɗ-n-i*
1PL.PRO-NOM cow.dung.pile=1 carry-1PL-PF
'We carried a cow dung pile.'

(5c) **inuʔ ʔinkuufa haaʔni**
inu-ʔ *in=kuufa* *haaɗ-n-i*
1PL.PRO-NOM 1=cow.dung.pile carry-1PL-PF
'We carried a cow dung pile.'

(5d) **inun kuufa haaʔni**
inu=in *kuufa* *haaɗ-n-i*
1PL.PRO=1 cow.dung.pile carry-1PL-PF
'We carried a cow dung pile.'

In the following examples, the subjects are implicit and the subject clitics are negative.

(6a) **akkaltu**
aʔ=kal-t-u
2NEG=return.home-2-NEG.IPF.FUT
'You (SG) will not go home.'

(6b) **χarʃasiʔ ʔanɗammi**
χarʃa-siʔ *ʔan=ɗam-n-í*
beans-DEF.M/F 1NEG=eat-NEG-PF
'I did not eat the beans.'

(6c) χarʃasiʔ ʔinɗammi
χarʃa-siʔ *in=ɗam-n-í*
beans-DEF.M/F 3NEG=eat-NEG-PF
'He/She/They did not eat the beans.'

(6d) aʔʔanni akkittu
aʔ=ʔan-ni *aʔ=kit-t-u*
2NEG=go-IPF 2NEG=be-2-NEG
'You (SG) do not go.'

3.2. Adjectival sentences

Adjectives differ from verbs in that both number and gender are marked on the former (see 4.1.4). Adjectives are like verbs with regard to hosting subject clitics. Like the independent verbal sentences, affirmative adjectival sentences occur with the same subject clitics: **in=** for first person, **iʔ=** for second person, and **i=** for third person. Singular subjects are not marked but plural subjects are marked by reduplicating the adjectival root's initial $C_1V(C_1)$. Adjectival sentences, like nominal sentences (see 3.4), have no copula. Both nominal and adjectival sentences have subject clitics, but these differ in form. Moreover, adjectival sentences may occur with overt or covert subjects. For example, the example in (7a) has the overt subject **inantasiʔ** 'the girl' and the one in (7b) has **hellaasiniʔ** 'the children'. The adjectival root in both examples is **ɗer-** 'be tall'.

(7a) inantasiʔ ʔiɗeri
inanta-siʔ *i=ɗer-i*
girl-DEF.M/F 3=be.tall-PF
'The girl is tall.'

(7b) hellaasiniʔ ʔiɗeɗɗeri
hellaa-siniʔ *i=ɗeɗ-ɗer-i*
children-DEF.P 3=PL-be.tall-PF
'The children are tall.'

First person plural and second person plural take the suffixes **-nna** and **-ttan**, respectively, in addition to reduplication on the adjectival roots as shown in (8).

(8a) inuʔ ʔinɗeɗɗerinna
inu-ʔ *in=ɗeɗ-ɗer-i-nna*
1PL.PRO-NOM 1=PL-be.tall-PF-1PL
'We are tall.'

(8b) **iʃinaʔ ʔidɛddɛrittan**
iʃina-ʔ *i=dɛd-dɛr-i-ttan*
2PL.PRO-NOM 3=PL-be.tall-PF-2PL
'You (PL) are tall.'

Adjectival sentences may occur without an overt subject. We can show this by omitting the overt subjects **inantasiʔ** 'the girl' and **hellaasiniʔ** 'the children' in the above examples. With the absence of an overt subject we only know the number of the implicit subject from reduplication and also from the suffixes **-nna** and **-ttan** for first person and second person plural. Examples:

(9a) **i=dɛr-i**
3=be.tall-PF
'She/He/It is tall.'

(9b) **i=dɛd-dɛr-i**
3=PL-be.tall-PF
'They are tall.'

(9c) **in=dɛd-dɛr-i-nna**
1=PL-be.tall-PF-1PL
'We are tall.'

Negation in adjectives is marked by negative subject clitics as well as by negative suffixes on the verb 'be, exist'.

(10a) **andɛreen co**
an=dɛr-i=an *kiy-o*
1NEG=be.tall-PF=1NEG be-NEG
'I am not tall.'

(10b) **dɛrin kittu**
dɛr-i=in *kit-t-u*
be.tall-PF=3NEG be-3F-NEG
'She is not tall.'

Negative adjectival sentences in which adjectival roots serve as predicates differ from adjectival affirmative sentences in the following ways:

- They require the existential verb **kit-** 'to be, exist' in addition to the adjectival predicate;
- Except third persons, the other persons do attach negative subject clitics on the adjectival predicates;
- All persons have negative subject clitics on the verb 'be, exist';
- Except for second person plural and third person plural, negation is also marked on the verb **kit-** 'to be, exist'.

The following are illustrative examples of negative adjectival sentences.

(11a) **anɗeri anco**
an=ɗer-i *an=kiy-o*
1NEG=be.tall-PF 1NEG=be-NEG
'I am not tall.'

(11b) **aɗɗeɗɗeri akkittan**
a?=ɗeɗ-ɗer-i *a?=kit-t-a-n*
2NEG=PL-be.tall-PF 2NEG=be-2-PF-P
'You are not tall.'

The negative subject clitics of the verb **kit-** 'to be, exist' mainly occur as enclitics with the adjectival predicate. This leftward movement omits the glottal stop for all persons. This in turn causes vowel coalescence for first and second persons: **i+a=ee**. For third persons, the vowel **i** is elided, and negation is marked only by the suffix **-n**. Below I provide some illustrative examples.

(12a) **anɗereen co**
an=ɗer-i=an *kiy-o*
1NEG=be.tall-PF=1NEG be-NEG
'I am not tall.'

(12b) **aɗɗereek kittu**
a?=ɗer-i=a? *kit-t-u*
2NEG=be.tall-PF=2NEG be-2-NEG
'You (SG) are not tall.'

(12c) **ɗeɗɗerin can**
ɗeɗ-ɗer-i=in *kiy-a-n*
PL-be.tall-PF=3NEG be-IPF.FUT-P
'They are not tall.'

The position of subject clitics is restricted in content questions and conditional clauses when the conditional conjunctions are not expanded with the suffix **-n**, for which I could not find the grammatical function or semantic content (but see 12.2.1 for details on conditional conjunctions). In content questions, subject clitics are attached only to the content-question word as shown in (13). The examples in (14) are unacceptable because the subject clitcs have moved to the verbs.

(13a) **maanan iʃaɗ ɗaaʃa**
maana=in *iʃa-?* *ɗaaʃ-a*
what=1 him-DAT give-IPF.FUT
'What shall I give him?'

(13b) **ayʃaak kitta**
ayʃaa=i? *kit-t-a*
where=2 be-2-IPF.FUT
'Where are you?'

(14a) ***maana iʃa? ʔinɗaaʃa**
maana *iʃa-?* *in=ɗaaʃ-a*
what him-DAT 1=give-IPF.FUT
(intended: 'What shall I give him?')

(14b) ***ayʃaa** *i?=kit-t-a*
where 2=be-2-IPF.FUT
(intended: 'Where are you?')

The position of subject clitics is also restricted in conditional clauses that contain conjunctions that are not expanded with suffix **-n**. For instance, in (15), we have the unexpanded conditional conjunction **kanɗe** 'if'. Accordingly, the subject clitic must occur with this conjunction. This is shown in (15a) where the first person subject clitic occurs with the conjunction **kanɗe**. The example in (15b) is unacceptable because the first person subject clitic has moved from the conditional conjunction **kanɗe** to the verb root.

(15a) **kanɗen urmalaapa aanay lahan piɗɗa**
kanɗe=in *urmalaa-opa* *an-ay* laha=in
if=1 market-to go-PF[3M] ram=1

piɗɗ-*a*
buy[SG]-IPF.FUT
'If I went to the market, I would buy a ram.'

(15b) ***kanɗe urmalaapa inaanay, lahan piɗɗa**
kanɗe *ʔurmalaa-opa* *in=an-ay,*
if market-to 1=go-PF[3M]

laha=in *piɗɗ-a*
ram=1 buy[SG]-IPF.FUT
(intended: 'If I went to the market, I would buy a ram.')

Subject clitics are also restricted in their position of occurrence when the adverb **amma** 'now' follows the discourse marker **asu** 'just'. The adverb **amma** 'now' has an inherent emphasis and as a result only hosts subject clitics when followed by **asu** 'just' as in (16a). The example in (16b) is unacceptable because the subject clitic has moved from the adverb to the verb.

(16a) **amman asu koɗaasiɗ ɗikkiʃay**
amma=in *asu* *koɗaa-si?* *ɗikkiʃ-ay*
now=1 just work-DEF.M/F finish-PF[3M]
'I have just finished the work.'

(16b) ***amma asu koɗaasi? ʔinɗikkiʃay**
amma *asu* *koɗaa-si?* *in=ɗikkiʃ-ay*
now just work-DEF.M/F 1=finish-PF[3M]
(intended: 'I have just finished the work.')

So far, I have discussed about the presence of subject clitics in sentences. Now, I return to presenting cases where subject clitics are absent. Subject clitics are absent in affirmative imperatives and optative sentences. They are also absent in cleft sentences. Since various sections are dedicated to each of these sentence types in this work, here, I only provide illustrative examples to show that subject clitics are absent in these sentence/clause types.

The examples in (17) illustrate imperatives (see imperatives in 6.4.1). They, however, differ in the presence or absence of subject clitics. The example in (17a) does not have a subject clitic because it is an affirmative imperative. In contrast, the example in (17b) has a subject clitic because it is a negative imperative. Notice that the form of the negative subject clitic of the negative imperative is identical to that of the first person affirmative subject clitic in affirmative verbal sentences.

(17a) **alleesip poota**
alleeta-si? *poot-a*
hut-DEF.M/F demolish-IMP.PL
'(You (PL)) Demolish this hut!'

(17b) **alleesi? ʔimpootan**
alleeta-si? *in=poot-a-n*
hut-DEF.M/F 2NEG=demolish-IMP.PL-NEG
'(You (PL)) Do not demolish this hut!'

Optative sentences are illustraed in (18) (see also Section 6.4.2). The affirmative optative in (18a) does not have subject clitics whereas the negative optative in (18b) has a subject clitic. Again, notice that the form of the negative subject clitic of the negative optative is identical to that of the first person affirmative subject clitic in affirmative verbal sentences.

(18a) **a** **kal-u**
REL return.home-OPT
'Let him return home.'

(18b) **in=kal-i-n**
3NEG=return.home-OPT-NEG
'Let him not return home.'

In non-cleft verbal sentences, the subject pronoun has a nominative suffix, and the verb has the subject clitic, gender suffix and aspect marker as in (19a). On the other hand, in cleft sentences, the subject occurs in the form of an accusative pronoun followed by a cleft sentence marker. Moreover, the verb has no subject clitic and gender/person marker. It only has the verb root and invariable aspect marker as shown in (19b-c).

(19a) **iʃeennaʔ ʔikalti**
iʃeenna-ʔ *i=kal-t-i*
3SGF.PRO-NOM return.home-3F-PF
'She returned home.'

(19b) **iʃeenna-á** **kal-ay**
3SGF.PRO[ACC]-CLF return.home-PF[3M]
'It's her who returned home.'

(19c) **ke-é** **kal-ay**
2SG.PRO.ACC-CLF return.home-PF
'It's you (SG) who returned home.'

In the preceding sections, I have presented the forms of affirmative as well as negative subject clitics in various sentence/clause types. In these sentence/clause types, subject clitics are flexible with regard to their placement in most verbal sentences. This flexibility in the placement of the subject clitics renders subtle differences in meaning. Further research should be done in order to understand these differences. It seems that the explanation lies in information structure.

Content question words host subject clitics as in (20a) (see also Section 10.3). The example in (20b) is ungrammatical because the subject clitic has moved from the content question word.

(20a) **antiʔ ʔaynun χonsupa erka**
anti-ʔ *aynu=in* *χonso-opa* *erk-a*
1SG.PRO-NOM who=1 Konso-to send-IPF.FUT
'Whom shall I send to Konso?'

(20b) ***antiʔ ʔaynu χonsupa inerka**
anti-ʔ *aynuχonso-opa* *in=erk-a*
1SG.PRO-NOM who Konso-to 1=send-IPF.FUT
(intended: 'Whom shall I send to Konso?')

Inherent emphasis can be obtained from the adverb **amma** 'now' when followed by **asu** 'just' as in (21).

(21) **antiʔ ʔamman asu koɗaasiɗ ɗikkiʃay**

anti-ʔ	*amma = in*	*asu*	*koɗaa-siʔ*
1SG.PRO-NOM	now = 1	just	work-DEF.M/F

ɗikkiʃ-ay
finish-PF[3M]
'I have just finished the work now.'

3.3. Nominal sentences

A citation form of a noun serves as a base for a nominal sentence for third person singular as in (22a). When the first person singular or second person singular is the subject of such nominal sentences, the nouns occur with subject clitics as in (22b-c). The forms of the subject clitics are: **an=** and **aʔ=** for first person and second person, respectively. Notice that the forms of the nominal subject clitics for first and second persons are identical to the negative subject clitics of the verbal sentences. For first and second person plurals, however, overt pronouns are mandatory in addition to the subjet clitics, as illustrated in (22d-e).

(22a) **χorma**
'(a) bull' or 'It is a bull.'

(22b) **an=χorma**
1 = bull
'I am a bull (i.e. I am brave.)'

(22c) **aχχorma**
aʔ=χorma
2 = bull
'You (SG) are a bull (i.e. You are brave.)'

(22d) **inuʔ ʔanχormaɗaa**

inu-ʔ	*an=χormaɗaa*
1PL.PRO-NOM	1 = bulls

'We are bulls (i.e. We are brave).'

(22e) **iʃinaʔ ʔaχχormaɗaa**

iʃina-ʔ	*aʔ=χormaɗaa*
2PL.PRO-NOM	2 = bulls

'You (PL) are bulls (i.e. You (PL) are brave)'.

Derived nominals such as the agentive also form nominal sentences. Such nominal sentences occur with subject clitics for first and second persons. Examples:

(23a) **an=akim-itta**
1=treat-AGENT.M
'I am a physician.'

(23b) **aʔ=akim-itteeta**
2=treat-AGENT.F
'You (SG.F) are a physician.'

(23c) **akim-iyyaa**
treat-AGENT.PL
'They are physicians.'

Nominal sentences do not have negative subject clitics. Rather they have a negative nominal suffix **-n(nin)**.

(24a) **iʃaχ χormannin**
iʃa-ʔ *χorma-nnin*
3SGM.PRO-NOM bull-NEG
'He is not a bull (i.e. He is not brave).'

(24b) **iʃinaʔ ʔaʔʔoraayaannin**
iʃina-ʔ *aʔ=oraayaa-nnin*
2PL.PRO-NOM 2=hyenas-NEG
'You (PL) are not hyenas (i.e. You are not greedy).'

3.4. Cleft sentences

As mentioned in the preceding section, cleft sentences do not take subject clitics. Furthermore, they are characterised by not having gender markers on the verb. The forms of the aspect markers do not vary. In cleft sentences, all nouns with short final vowels lengthen the final vowel. When personal pronouns are used, they occur in the object form.

Below, I provide paradigms to show the above characteristics of cleft sentences, using the verb root **ɗam-** 'eat'. Interlinear glossing and translation are given for the first person singular in each of the paradigm.

(25a) **anaa ɗammi**
ana-a *ɗam-ni*
1SG.PRO.ACC-CLF eat-IPF.PRES
'It is me who eats (it).'

inoo ɗammi	‘It is us who eat (it).’
kee ɗammi	‘It is you (SG) who eat (it).’
iʃinaa ɗammi	‘It is you (PL) who eat (it).’
iʃeennaa ɗammi	‘It is her who eats (it).’
iʃaa ɗammi	‘It is him who eats (it).’
iʃoonnaa ɗammi	‘It is them who eat (it).’

(25b) anaa ɗamay

ana-a	*ɗam-ay*
1SG.PRO.ACC-CLF	eat-PF[3M]

‘It is me who ate (it).’

inoo ɗammay	‘It is us who eat (it).’
kee ɗamay	‘It is you (SG) who ate (it).’
iʃinaa ɗammay	‘It is you (PL) who ate (it).’
iʃeennaa ɗamay	‘It is her who ate (it).’
iʃaa ɗamay	‘It is him who ate (it).’
iʃoonnaa ɗamay	‘It is them who ate (it).’

(25c) **anaa ɗama**

ana-a	*ɗam-a*
1SG.PRO.ACC-CLF	eat-IPF.FUT

‘It is me who will eat (it).’

inoo ɗama	‘It is us who will eat (it).’
kee ɗama	‘It is you (SG) who will eat (it).’
iʃinaa ɗama	‘It is you (PL) who will eat (it).’
iʃeennaa ɗama	‘It is her who will eat (it).’
iʃaa ɗama	‘It is him who will eat (it).’
iʃoonnaa ɗama	‘It is them who will eat (it).’

With transitive verbs, the object is marked with a high tone (see also 4.12.1 for nominative-accusative case distinction).

(26a)	**ana-a**	**karmaá**	**iʃʃ-a**
	1SG.PRO.ACC-CLF	lion	kill[SG]-IPF.FUT

‘It is me who will kill a lion.’

(26b)	**ke-e**	**keraá**	**ɠap-a**
	2SG.PRO.ACC-CLF	thief	catch-IPF.FUT

‘It is you (SG) who will catch a thief.’

Verbless cleft sentences are marked by the suffix **-Vn** as shown in the following illustrative examples:

(27a) **ineen ʕoyraawu**
ini-en *ʕoyra-awu*
this-CLF tree-1SG.POSS.M/F
'It's this one which is my tree.'

(27b) iʃeenna-án akimi-tteeta
3SGF.PRO[ACC]-CLF treat-F
'It's her who is a physician.'

(27c) **helloosineen kereʔta**
hellaa-oosiniʔ-en *kereʔta*
children-DEM.P-CLF thieves
'It's these children who are thieves.'

4. Nouns

This chapter is about nominal morphology. Here, I describe gender, number, plurality in adjectives, semantic gender distinction, diminutive, indefinite reference and indefinite–specific morphemes and definite reference. I also deal with demonstrative suffixes, numerals, nominal derivation, case and compounding.

4.1. Gender

4.1.1. Gender of nouns

There are three interacting notions with regard to gender in nouns. First, we have the notion of plural gender versus non-plural (masculine and feminine) gender; secondly, we have the notion of semantic plurality; and thirdly, plurative versus singulative. The distinction plural gender versus non-plural masculine and feminine gender is based on the concord between a noun in the subject function and the verb of the same sentence. As will be shown later, the distinction of gender agreement markers on the verb is realised only when nouns serve as non-focused subjects. With regard to semantic plurality, we see that plural gender does imply semantic plurality in some cases but not in all, and that the non-plural genders can have plural interpretations. To avoid the confusion that might arise from the use of terms, I use the term 'plural' in the context of agreement on the verb whether the subject is numerically single or multiple. I also use the terms "singulative" and "plurative" for derived forms of nouns, and "base" for the form on which the derivation (singulative or plurative) is based. Moreover, I use the terms "single" and (following Hayward (1981)) "multiple" for the number values of nouns, and the terms, "masculine", "feminine" and "plural" for the values of gender.

Like other Cushitic languages, Konso shows gender, not number, agreement in the subject inflection on the verb. And gender has the values M(asculine), F(eminine) and P(lural), as is not uncommon for Cushitic languages. The third value for gender agreement is P(lural) because that is the ending on the verb. I use the abbreviation M/F in those gender agreement markers that do not distinguish between M and F. The head noun may be either M or F.

Thus, according to gender agreement on the verb, we have nouns that trigger the same agreement as the third person male subject (marked by the suffix **-ay**), those that trigger the same agreement as the third person female subject (marked by suffix **-t**) and those that trigger the same agreement as the third person plural subject (marked by the suffix **-n**).

Most nouns which are semantically specified for sex as female trigger the third person feminine gender agreement marker **-t** on the verb as shown in (1):

(1a) **inantasiʔ ʔiɗeʔti**
inanta-siʔ *i=ɗey-t-i*
girl-DEF.M/F 3=come-3F-PF
'The girl came.'

(1b) **talteetasiʔ ʔipiʔti**
talteeta-siʔ *i=piʔ-t-i*
she-goat-DEF.M/F 3=fall-3F-PF
'The she-goat fell.'

Certain nouns that are semantically female have masculine gender agreement. Her is an example:

(2a) **okkattasiʔ ʔipiʔay**
okkatta-siʔ *i=piʔ-ay*
cow-DEF.M/F 3=fall-PF[3M]
'The cow fell.'

(2b) **arpasiʔ ʔiɗalay**
arpa-siʔ *i=ɗal-ay*
elephant-DEF.M/F 3=give.birth-PF[3M]
'The elephant gave birth.'

Nouns that are semantically specified for sex as male trigger third person masculine gender agreement on the verb as in (3).

(3a) **χormasiʔ ʔipatay**
χorma-siʔ *i=pat-ay*
ox-DEF.M/F 3=get.lost-PF[3M]
'The ox got lost.'

(3b) **hamiyaasiʔ ʔiɗeyay**
hamiyaa-siʔ *i=ɗey-ay*
boy-DEF.M/F 3=come-PF[3M]
'The boy came.'

(3c) **lahaiʔ ʔipatay**
laha-siʔ *i=pat-ay*
ram-DEF.M/F 3=get.lost-PF[3M]
'The ram got lost.'

All nouns with plural suffixes have the plural gender agreement **-n** on the verb. For example, the suffix **-wwaa** in **harreewwaa** 'donkeys' in (4a), **-ɗaa** in **χormaɗaa** 'oxen' in (4b) and **-ɗɗaa** in **lahaɗɗaa** 'rams' in (4c) are plural suffixes and, thus, impose the plural gender agreement marker **-n** on the verb.

(4a) harreewwaasini? ʔipatin
harreewwaa-sini? *i=pat-i-n*
donkeys-DEF.P 3=get.lost-PF-P
'The donkeys got lost.'

(4b) χormaɗaa-sini? ʔipatin
χormaɗaa-sini? *i=pat-i-n*
oxen-DEF.P 3=get.lost-PF-P
'The oxen got lost.'

(4c) lahaɗɗaasini? ʔipatin
lahaɗɗaa-sini? *i=pat-i-n*
rams-DEF.P 3=get.lost.PF-P
'The rams got lost.'

There are certain nouns which are semantically plural but have a masculine or feminine gender agreement on the verb. For instance, **iskatta** 'women' in (5a) is semantically plural but occurs with a masculine gender marker on the verb. In the same fashion, **kuyleeta** 'the Ts'amakko' in (5b) is semantically plural but occurs with a feminine gender agreement **-t** on the verb.

(5a) iskatta-si? ʔiɗey-ay
iskatta-si? *i=ɗey-ay*
women-DEF.M/F 3=come-PF[3M]
'The women came.'

(5b) kuyleetasi? ʔiɗeʔti
kuyleeta-si? *i=ɗey-t-i*
Ts'amakko-DEF.M/F 3=come-3F-PF
'The Ts'amakko came.'

Most nouns that are semantically undetermined for sex require masculine gender agreement, feminine gender agreement or plural gender agreement. The gender assignment cannot be predicted by the semantics of the nouns. Here are some examples:

(6a) ɠoyrasi? ʔiɠepay
ɠoyra-si? *i=ɠep-ay*
tree-DEF.M/F 3=break-PF[3M]
'The tree was broken.'

(6b) harreetasi? ʔiɠepti
harreeta-si? *i=ɠep-t-i*
donkey-DEF.M/F 3=be.broken-3F-PF
'The donkey was broken.'

(6c) **filaasini? ʔiɕepin**
filaa-sini? *i=ɕep-i-n*
comb-DEF.P 3=be.broken-PF-P
'The comb was broken.'

From our discussion so far, it is apparent that nouns fall into three groups based on their subject agreement on the verb: those with M(asculine), F(eminine) and P(lural) gender agreement. The three gender values to some degree follow the semantics of nouns but for quite a number of nouns the gender value cannot be predicted by semantics. Semantically plural nouns may trigger M, F or P agreement, and semantically singular nouns may trigger P agreement. Singular and plural pairs of nouns can have different gender values.

Agreement on the adjective shows that gender and number are separate agreement systems. On the adjective number is marked by reduplication (for plural), see 3.2 above, and P(lural) gender is marked by a suffix, see 4.1.4. Nouns that are plural in number need not be P(lural) in gender and nouns that are P(lural) in gender are not always plural in number. This state of affairs is confusing for those not acquainted with Cushitic languages. Using a different term for the third value of gender would be misleading because the agreement does coincide with that of third person plural 'they'.

When there are suppletive verb roots for singulative and pluractional (see 6.2.5 for pluracitonality), nouns that have a singulative notion occur with singulative verb roots, and those that have a plurative notion occur with pluractional verb roots. Nouns with plurative notion may differ in their gender agreement on the verb. For example, if we take, as in (7), the nouns **kawwaaɗaa** 'the Gawwada', **kaahuta** 'Kaaho villagers' and **χoyraa** 'the Burji' and the suppletive verb roots **keer-** 'to run[SG]' and **hir-** 'to run[PL]', we see that all the nouns have a plurative notion, and hence occur with the suppletive pluractional verb root **hir-** 'to run[PL]' rather than the singulative verb root **keer-** 'to run[SG]'. However, they differ in gender agreement: **kawwaaɗaa** 'the Gawwada' in (7a) triggers the same gender agreement as the third person masculine subject, **kaahuta** 'Kaaho villagers' in (7b) triggers the same gender agreement as the third person feminine subject, and **χoyraa** 'the Burji' in (7c) triggers the same gender agreement as plural subject.

(7a) **kawwaaɗaasi? ʔihiray**
kawwaaɗaa-si? *i=hir-ay*
kawwaɗa-DEF.M/F 3=run[PL]-PF[3M]
'The Gawwada ran.'

(7b) **kaahutasiʔ ʔihirti**
kaahuta-siʔ *i=hir-t-i*
kaaho-DEF.M/F 3=run[PL]-3F-PF
'The kaahuta ran.'

(7c) **χoyraasiniʔ ʔihirin**
χoyraa-siniʔ *i=hir-i-n*
burji-DEF.P 3=run[PL]-PF-P
'The Burji ran.'

There are some nouns with M~F gender values. The alternative use of the M~F does not bring any difference in meaning. For instance, the singulative **raaka** 'old woman' is semantically feminine but it may occur with the indefinite F **takka** in (8a) or with the M counterpart **tokka** in (8b), the former is preferred.

(8a) **raaka takkaʔ ʔipiʔti**
raaka *takka-ʔ* *i=piʔ-t-i*
old.woman INDEF.F-NOM 3=fall-3F-PF
'A certain old woman fell down.'

(8b) **raaka tokkan akkay**
raaka *tokka=in* *akk-ay*
old.woman INDEF.M=1 see-PF[3M]
'I saw a certain old woman.'

4.1.2. Gender agreement in definiteness marking

The gender of nouns determines the assignment of definite marking on nouns: nouns that trigger the same gender agreement as the masculine or feminine subject assign the definite suffix **-siʔ** as illustrated in (9).

(9a) **ɠimaytasiʔ ʔikutiʔay**
ɠimayta-siʔ *i=kutiʔ-ay*
old.man-DEF.M/F 3=sit.down-PF[3M]
'The old man sat down.'

(9b) **orra-siʔ ʔikal-ay**
orra-siʔ *i=kal-ay*
people-DEF.M/F 3=return.home-PF[3M]
'The people returned home.'

(9c) **alleetasiʔ ʔipiʔti**
alleeta-siʔ *i=piʔ-t-i*
hut-DEF.M/F 3=fall-3F-PF
'The hut fell.'

Nouns that trigger the same agreement as the plural subject on the verb assign the definite suffix **-sini?**. For example, the nouns **innaa** 'child' in (10a) and **filaa** 'comb' in (10b) are semantically singular. However, they add the plural gender agreement marker **-n** on the verb just like the noun **lahaɗɗaa** 'rams' in (10c). This clearly shows that **-n** is a gender agreement marker, not a number marker.

(10a) **innaasini? ?imukin**
innaa-sini? *i=muk-i-n*
child-DEF.P 3=sleep-PF-P
'The child slept.'

(10b) **filaasini? ?iɠepin**
filaa-sini? *i=ɠep-i-n*
comb-DEF.P 3=be.broken-PF-P
'The comb was broken.'

(10c) **lahaɗɗaasini? ?ikataman**
lahaɗɗaa-sini? *i=kat-am-a-n*
rams-DEF.P 3=sell-PAS-IPF.FUT-P
'The rams will be sold.'

4.1.3. Gender agreement in demonstratives

The gender of nouns determines the assignment of demonstrative marking on nouns. In other words, nouns that trigger the same gender agreement as masculine or feminine subject assign the demonstrative suffix **-asi?** or **-osi?** as illustrated in (11). For the distribution of the demonstrative suffixes, see Section 4.8.

(11a) **kahartaasi? ?iɗalti**
kaharta-asi? *i=ɗal-t-i*
ewe-DEM.M/F 3=give.birth-3F-PF
'This ewe gave birth.'

(11b) **ɠoyroosi? ?iɠepay**
ɠoyra-osi? *i=ɠep-ay*
tree-DEM.M/F 3=be.broken-PF[3M]
'This tree was broken.'

(11c) **orraasi? ?ikalay**
orra-asi? *i=kal-ay*
people-DEM.M/F 3=return.home-PF[3M]
'These people returned home.'

Nouns that trigger the same gender agreement as the plural subject on the verb assign the demonstrative suffix **-osini?**. In the following examples, the semantically singular noun **innaa** 'child' (12a) and the plurative noun **pottaawwaa** 'pumpkins' (12b) add the plural gender agreement suffix **-osini?**.

(12a) **innoosinif fatanaappaa ipi?in**
innaa-osini? *fatanaa-oppaa* *i=pi?-i-n*
child-DEM.P exam-in 3=fall-PF-P
'This child failed the exam.'

(12b) **pottaawwoosini? ?iŋapalin**
pottaawwaa-osini? *i=ŋapal-i-n*
pumpkins-DEM.P 3=be.spoiled-PF-P
'These houses were spoiled.'

4.1.4. Gender agreement in adjectives

When adjectives serve as attributes, gender is marked in addition to number. Plural number is expressed by reduplicating the adjectival root's initial $C_1V(C_1)$. Gender agreement is marked by suffixes **-a** for M/F gender and by the suffix **-aa?** for plural gender. For example, in (13a), the modified noun **χormasi?** 'the ox' is semantically singulative and [M] in gender and it has an M/F gender suffix on the adjectival root. In (13b), the modified noun **filaasini?** 'the comb' is semantically singulative but requires a plural gender suffix **-aa?** on the adjectival root. In (13c), the modified noun **?orrasi?** 'the people' is semantically plural and [M] in gender and requires a plural number agreement marked by reduplication but an M/F gender suffix on the adjectival root. In (13d), the object **χormaɗaasini?** 'the oxen' is semantically plural and [P] in gender and has a plural number agreement marked by reduplication and a plural gender agreement suffix **-aa?** on the adjectival root. Notice that the subject of each sentence in (13) is the first person singular.

(13a) **χormasik kappa in?akkay**
χorma-si? *kapp-a* *in=akk-ay*
ox-DEF.M/F be.fat-M/F 1=see-PF[3M]
'I saw the fat ox.'

(13b) **filaasinip pooraa? ?in?akkay**
filaa-sini? *poor-aa?* *in=akk-ay*
comb-DEF.P be.black-P 1=see-PF[3M]
'I saw the black comb.'

(13c) **orrasik kakappa in?akkay**
orra-si? *ka-kapp-a* *in=akk-ay*
people-DEF.M/F PL-be.fat-M/F 1=see-PF[3M]
'I saw the fat people.'

(13d) χormaɗaasinik kakappaaʔ ʔinʔakkay

χormaɗaa-sini?	*ka-kapp-aa?*	*in=akk-ay*
ox-DEF.P	PL-be.fat-P	1=see-PF[3M]

'I saw the fat oxen.'

From the foregoing discussions, it is clear that gender as a morphological category has the M, F and P values in subject agreement marking on the verb, and M/F and P values in the noun phrase agreement, namely in definite nouns, demonstratives and adjectives.

4.2. Number

Number in nouns is derivational rather than inflectional (see Ongaye (in print)). The derivation of number in nouns involves the derivation of pluratives, and, to a much lesser degree, the derivation of singulatives. As I mentioned earlier, I use the terms "singulative" and "plurative" for derived forms of nouns, and "base" for the form on which the derivation (singulative or plurative) is based. Moreover, I use the terms "single" and (following Hayward (1981)) "multiple" for the number values of nouns. "Single" nouns refer to semantically individual entities while "multiple" nouns refer to semantically plural entities. In what follows, I first present the derivation of pluratives and then the derivation of singulatives.

Plurative is marked by the following ways:

A. attaching plurative suffixes
B. reduplicating the base-final consonant
C. geminating the last consonant of the base

Pluratives derived by any one of the above strategies are plural semantically and also trigger plural gender agreement marking on the verb. As we shall see later, there are also suppletives in Konso. Singular suppletives express single reference, while plural suppletives express multiple reference.

4.2.1. Number suffixes

There are five number suffixes used to mark plurative in nouns. The number suffixes are arranged from the most to the least frequently occurring suffix with a sample of about 470 nouns (see Chapter 15).

Form of number suffix	Base
A. -ɗɗaa (27%)	stem
B. -wwaa (22%)	root-**ta** (F)
C. -ɗaa (16%)	stem
D. -ayaa (7.5%)	root-**atta** (M)
E. -iyyaa (5.5%)	root-**itta** (M)

From the correlation between the number suffixes and their bases, we can see that some plurative suffixes are added to bases while others replace singulative suffixes. Thus, the plurative suffix of each noun has to be learned lexically. Furthermore, a lexeme may occur with more than one plurative suffix. In some cases, nouns with plurative suffixes may serve as bases to further derive pluratives. In fact, sometimes it is only the singulative that is derived. In other words, the system has both singulatives and pluratives, and both can be basic.

Below, I discuss each of the number suffixes. In the illustrative examples, I only indicate the gender values of the bases because plurative suffixes impose a plural gender value.

Plurative suffix **-ɗɗaa**

The plurative suffix **-ɗɗaa** is added to a base. Base final **aa** is shortened when **-ɗɗaa** is added. The bases may have a masculine, feminine or plural gender values. The bases are either underived, or derived singulatives in **-ta**. The following are illustrative examples:

(14)	Base	gloss	plurative	gloss
	ɗaʔta (M)	'butter'	**ɗaʔtaɗɗaa**	'butters'
	kittayyaa (M)	'bedbug'	**kittayyaɗɗaa**	'bedbugs'
	maakaa (M)	'snake'	**maakaɗɗaa**	'snakes'
	mahanta (F)	'grass'	**mahantaɗɗaa**	'grasses'
	oχinta (F)	'fence'	**oχintaɗɗaa**	'fences'
	ʃiiʃaa (P)	'curse'	**ʃiiʃaɗɗaa**	'curses'
	kaariyyaa (P)	'evil spirit'	**kaariyyaɗɗaa**	'evil spirits'
	kosaa (P)	'granary'	**kosaɗɗaa**	'granaries'
	marɠinaa (P)	'intestine'	**marɠinaɗɗaa**	'intestines'

Plurative suffix -wwaa

The plurative suffix **-wwaa** replaces the singulative suffix **-ta**. Except apuyyaata 'maternal uncle (M)' and **kawkawa** 'lower jaw (M)', all such singulative nouns trigger a feminine gender agreement. Examples:

(15)	Base	gloss	plurative	gloss
	hinʃaakkata (F)	'ant'	**hinʃaakkawwaa**	'ants'
	kaankita (F)	'mule'	**kaankiwwaa**	'mules'
	ʃooɠɠita (F)	'mud'	**ʃooɠɠiwwaa**	'muds'
	noodɗuta (F)	'bribe'	**noodɗuwwaa**	'bribes'
	muukuta (F)	'frog'	**muukuwwaa**	'frogs'
	fillayyaata (F)	'flea'	**fillayyaawwaa**	'fleas'
	landeeta (F)	'liver'	**landeewwaa**	'livers'

Plurative suffx -ɗaa

Like the suffix -ɗɗaa, plurative suffix -ɗaa is added to its bases. The bases have either a consonant cluster or geminate consonants preceding the suffix with the short ɗ. Although degemination in the context of geminate consonants or clusters of consonants has been attested elsewhere in the language, we cannot posit the suffix -ɗaa as an allomorph of the suffix -ɗɗaa because the suffix -ɗɗaa also occurs after clusters of consonants, as in **oχintaɗɗaa** 'fences' and **hawlaɗɗaa** 'graves'. Base final **aa** is shortened. The bases may have a masculine, feminine or plural gender value, but the majority have a masculine gender value. The following are illustrative examples. Notice that the plurative suffixes -ɗɗaa and -ɗaa are not allomorphs of the same plurative suffix.

(16)	Base	gloss	plurative	gloss
	arpa (M)	'elephant'	**arpaɗaa**	'elephants'
	ipsaa (P)	'light'	**ipsaɗaa**	'lights'
	ɗalta (F)	'seed'	**ɗaltaɗaa**	'seeds'
	farta (F)	'horse'	**fartaɗaa**	'horses'
	maχχa (M)	'name'	**maχχaɗaa**	'names'
	kirra (M)	'river'	**kirraɗaa**	'rivers'
	kappaa (M)	'wheat'	**kappaɗaa**	'wheat'
	karmaa (M)	'lion'	**karmaɗaa**	'lions'
	karkaa (M)	'beehive'	**karkaɗaa**	'beehives'
	ɲaaŋɲaa (P)	'tomato'	**ɲaaŋɲaɗaa**	'tomatoes'
	paankaa (P)	'machete'	**paankaɗaa**	'machetes'

The base noun **ɲaaŋɲaa** 'tomato' can have plural interpretation in the absence the plurative suffix -ɗaa. Plural or singular interpretation is understood not from the gender agreement on the verb, as both trigger plural gender agreement marking on the verb, but rather from the singulativity or pluractionality of the action: when the verb root is a singulative suppletive or the verb root's initial $C_1V(C_1)$ is not reduplicated (for non-suppletives), then it has a singular interpretation. However, when the verb root is a plurative suppletive or the verb root's initial $C_1V(C_1)$ is reduplicated (for non-suppletives), then it has plural interpretation.

Plurative suffix -ayaa

The plurative suffix -**ayaa** replaces the singulative suffix -**atta** as can be seen from the data in (17). The majority of the bases have a masculine gender agreement.

(17)	Base	gloss	plurative	gloss
	oypatta (M)	tree species	**oypayaa**	tree species
	arpatta (M)	grass species	**arpayaa**	grass species

karsatta (M)	tree species	**karsayaa**	tree species
dittatta (M)	plant species	**dittayaa**	plant species
hoppatta (M)	'gut'	**hoppayaa**	'guts'
kollatta (M)	'hide, skin'	**kollayaa**	'hides, skins'
okkatta (M)	'cow'	**okkayaa**	'cows, cattle'
karratta (M)	'squirrel'	**karrayaa**	'squirrels'
massatta (M)	'crocodile'	**massayaa**	'crocodiles'
kawwatta (F)	'terrace'	**kawwayaa**	'terraces'

There is one instance of a nominal root with a singulative suffix **-eetta** and a plural suffix **-eeyyaa**: **kupeetta** (M) **kupeeyyaa** 'lower bone of hind leg'.

Plurative suffix -iyyaa

The plurative suffix **-iyyaa** is added to roots by replacing the singulative suffix **-itta**. All the bases trigger a masculine gender agreement. Here are some examples:

(18)	Base	gloss	plurative	gloss
	alkitta (M)	'sisal'	**alkiyyaa**	'sisals'
	fiŋŋitta (M)	'pimple'	**fiŋŋiyyaa**	'pimples'
	ɠupitta (M)	'finger'	**ɠupiyyaa**	'fingers'
	ilkitta (M)	'tooth'	**ilkiyyaa**	'teeth'
	karitta (M))	'belly'	**kariyyaa**	'bellies'
	orritta (M)	'devil'	**orriyyaa**	'devils'
	apitta (M)	'fire'	**apiyyaa**	'fires'
	ɠinaʔitta (M)	'rib'	**ɠinaʔiyyaa**	'ribs'

4.2.2. Reduplicating the base final consonant

Reduplicating the base final consonant is another strategy that marks plurative. In this number derivation strategy, a base final consonant /**l**/ or /**n**/ in a consonant cluster is reduplicated and subsequently geminated/lengthened. The plurative forms have a final long **aa**. Most often the consonant clusters containing /**l**/ undergo metathesis (cf. 2.7.6.). The bases may have a short **a** or a long **aa**. A base final **-aa** is shortened in the plurative. The bases trigger either masculine or plural gender agreement, the majority triggering masculine gender agreement. The following is an exhaustive list:

(19)	Base	gloss	plurative	gloss
	hawla (M)	'tomb, grave'	**hawlallaa**	'tombs, graves'
	fanɠala (M)	'splinter'	**fanɠallaa**	'splinters'
	tawna (M)	'bell'	**tawnannaa**	'bells'
	moχna (M)	'rocky place'	**moχnannaa**	'rocky places'
	ɠolfaa (P)	'park, pod'	**ɠolfallaa**	'parks (of tree), pods'

ɗikla (M)	'elbow'	**ɗiklallaa**	'elbows'
silpa (M)	'metal'	**silpallaa**	'metals'
kilpa (M)	'knee'	**kilpallaa**	'knees'
kulpa (M)	'big calabash'	**kulpallaa**	'big calabashes'
ɠolpa (M)	'he-goat'	**ɠolpallaa**	'he-goats'
ɗapna (M)	'temple (body)'	**ɗapnannaa**	'temples'

The bases in (20a) have the same phonological pattern as those in (19) but they do not reduplicate the final consonant in the plurative. The correct plurative forms are given in (20b).

(20a)	Base	gloss	plurative
	talpa (M)	'lentil'	***talpallaa**
	hupna (M)	'strength'	***hupnannaa**
	haynaa (P)	'remains after sucking cane'	***haynannaa**

(20b)	**talpaɗaa** (P)	'lentils'
	hupnannaa (P)	'strengths'
	haynaɗaa (P)	'remains after sucking cane'

4.2.3. Plurative marking by gemination

This plurative marking strategy geminates the onset of the last syllable. The short vowel /**a**/ of the bases is lengthened in the plurative forms. The majority of the bases trigger masculine gender agreement. The following are illustrative data.

(21)	Base	gloss	plurative	gloss
	tika (F)	'house	**tikkaa**	'houses'
	raaka (F)	'old woman'	**raakkaa**	'old women'
	ɗila (M)	'field'	**ɗillaa**	'fields'
	kaɓa (M)	'canal'	**kaɓɓaa**	'canals'
	kafa (M)	'clan'	**kaffaa**	'clans'
	mura (M)	'forest'	**murraa**	'forests'
	pora (M)	'road, route'	**porraa**	'roads, routes'
	paaɠa (M)	'disease'	**paaɠɠaa**	'diseases'
	paala (M)	'feather'	**paallaa**	'feathers'
	kaasa (M)	'horn, gun'	**kaassaa**	'horns, guns'
	tuuɗa (M)	'pillar'	**tuuɗɗaa**	'pillars'
	hoofa (M)	'hole'	**hooffaa**	'holes'

The pluratives of the following bases are derived by geminating the onset of the last syllable but the singulative is marked by suffix **-ta**.

(22)	Base	gloss	plurative	gloss
	kaharta (F)	'ewe'	**kaharraa**	'sheep'
	locʕta (F)	'leg'	**locʕʕaa**	'legs'
	hiɓta (F)	'lip'	**hiɓɓaa**	'lips'

4.2.4. Double plurative derivation

Certain plurative forms serve as bases for further derived pluratives. Double pluratives are derived by adding the plurative suffix **-ɗaa** when the plurative bases are formed by reduplicating the base final consonant as in (23a). They are also derived by adding the plurative suffix **-ɗɗaa** when the plurative bases are formed by geminating the base final consonant as in (23b).

(23a)	Base (plurative)	plurative (double derived)	
	tikkaa	**tikkaɗaa**	'houses'
	raakkaa	**raakkaɗaa**	'old women'
	ɗillaa	**ɗillaɗaaa**	'fields'
	kaɓɓaa	**kaɓɓaɗaa**	'canals'
	kaffaa	**kaffaɗaa**	'clans'
	murraa	**murraɗaa**	'forests'
	porraa	**porraɗaa**	'roads, routes'
	paaʕʕaa	**paaʕʕaɗaa**	'diseases'
	paallaa	**paalladaa**	'feathers'
	kaassaa	**kaassaɗaa**	'horns, guns'
	tuuɗɗaa	**tuuɗɗaɗaa**	'pillars'
	hooffaa	**hooffaɗaa**	'holes'

(23b)			
	silpallaa	**silpalladɗaa**	'metals'
	ɗiklallaa	**ɗiklalladɗaa**	'elbows'
	kilpallaa	**kilpalladɗaa**	'knese'
	kulpallaa	**kulpalladɗaa**	'big calabashes'
	ʕolpallaa	**ʕolpalladɗaa**	'he-goats'
	hawlallaa	**hawlalladɗaa**	'tombs, graves'
	fanʕallaa	**fanʕalladɗaa**	'splinters'
	tawnannaa	**tawnannaɗɗaa**	'bells'
	moχnannaa	**moχnannaɗɗaa**	'rocky places'
	ɗapnannaa	**ɗapnannaɗɗaa**	'temples'
	ʕolfallaa	**ʕolfalladɗaa**	'parks (of tree), pods'

4.2.5. Irregular pluratives

Certain pluratives do not fall into the patterns discussed above. For example, the plurative **ilɗaa** 'eyes', which is derived from the nominal root **il-** 'eye' (singulative **ilta** (F) 'eye'), does not conform to the pattern I discussed earlier for the plurative suffix **-ɗaa**. That is, in my earlier analysis, I showed that **-ɗaa** is added to bases, not roots. But in **ilɗaa** 'eyes', it is added to a root. The other

pluratives that do not fall into our earlier patterns include **ɠoraa** 'trees', **harkaa** 'hands' and **kereʔta** 'thieves'. The plurative **ɠoraa** 'trees' has the singulative **ɠoyra** (M) 'tree'. The derivation of the plurative **ɠoraa** 'trees' involves the deletion of the consonant **y** in the singulative, and lengthening the final vowel of the singulative. The plurative **harkaa** 'hands' is derived from the base by lengthening only the final vowel of the base. With regard to the derivation of the plurative **kereʔta** 'thieves' and its singulative **keraa** (M) 'thief', both have a root **ker-** to which **-eʔta** and **-aa** are added to derive the plurative and singulative, respectively.

In fact, the pluratives **harkaa** 'hands' and **kereʔta** 'thieves' can alternatively be used as stems to derive the plurative **harkaɗaa** and **kereʔewwaa**, respectively. Similarly, the singulative **ɠoyra** may serve as a stem to derive the plurative **ɠoyraɗaa**. This derivation fits into our analysis for the derivational pattern of the number suffix **-ɗaa**.

4.2.6. Suppletive plurals

Certain single-reference nouns have suppletive multiple reference counterparts. An exhaustive list is given in (24). The single-reference forms may trigger masculine, feminine or plural gender agreement; on the other hand, the plurals may trigger masculine or plural gender agreement.

(24)	Single	gloss	multiple	gloss
	innaa (P)	'child'	**hellaa** (P)	'(human) children'
	nama (M)	'man, person'	**orra** (M)	'people'
	saallaa (M)	'cow dung'	**kuufa** (M)	'pile of cow dung'
	inanta (F)	'girl'	**tupar(r)aa** (P)	'girls'
	innayyaa (P)	'young animal'	**ɲelɠaa** (P)	'young animals/birds'

4.2.7. Pluratives without corresponding singulative forms

In the preceding sections, we discussed the derivation of pluratives from singulative bases. The roots of the bases carry the semantics of singulative. However, there are instances in which there is only one number form which is plurative and not singulative. Such nouns are listed below.

(25)	**horeeta** (F)	'livestock'
	sawwaa (M)	'people (formal setting)'
	ikkaamaa (P)	'seed corn'

Our evidence for claiming that the above nouns are plurative comes from agreement. For instance, the examples in (26) are acceptable because the nouns **horreta** 'livestock' and **sawwaa** 'people' occur with the pluractional verb root **hir-** 'run[PL]'. On the other hand, the examples in (27) are unacceptable be-

cause the same nouns **horeeta** and **sawwaa** occur with a singulative verb root **keer-** 'run[SG]'.

(26a) **horeetasiʔ ʔihirti**
horeeta-si? *i=hir-t-i*
livestock-DEF.M/F 3=run[PL]-3F-PF
'The livestock ran.'

(26b) **keraasiɢ ɢapiyas sawwaasiʔ ʔihiray**
keraa-si? *ɢap-iya-ʔ* *sawwaa-si?*
thief-DEF.M/F catch-INF-DAT people-DEF.M/F

i=hir-ay
3=run[PL]-PF[3M]
'The people ran in order to catch the thief.'

(27a) ***horeetasiʔ ʔikeerti**
horeeta-si? *i=keer-t-i*
livestock-DEF.M/F 3=run[SG]-3F-PF
(intended: 'The livestock ran.')

(27b) ***keraasiɢ ɢapiyas sawwaasiʔ ʔikeeray**
keraa-si? *ɢap-iya-ʔ* *sawwaa-si?*
thief-DEF.M/F catch-INF-DAT people-DEF.M/F

i=keer-ay
3=run[SG]-PF[3M]
(intended: 'The people ran in order to catch the thief.')

4.2.8. Derivation of singulatives

Singulatives are derived from underived pluratives by deleting final vowels and adding the suffixes **-ayta** (M) as in (28a), **-ta** (M/F) as in (28b), **-itta** (M) as in (28c) or **-teeta** (F) as in (28d).

(28a)	Plurative	singulative	gloss
	ɗaʔayaa	**ɗaʔayta** (M)	plant species
	karayaa	**karayta** (M)	'gorge'
	keltayaa	**keltayta** (M)	'baboon'
	ottayaa	**ottayta** (M)	tree species
	ɢimayaa	**ɢimayta** (M)	'old man'
(28b)	**kumaanaa**	**kumaanta** (M)	'antelope'
	maskahanaa	**maskahanta** (M)	tree species
	pinaanaa	**pinanta** (M)	'animal'

	hotaaraa	**hotaarta** (M)	acacia tree species
	kolalaa	**kolalta** (M)	acacia tree species
	lafaa	**lafta** (F)	'bone'
	koromaa	**koromta** (F)	'heifer'
	kusumaa	**kusumta** (F)	'navel'
	oχinaa	**oχinta** (F)	'fence'
	koskoraa	**koskorta** (F)	'partridge'
(28c)	**ɠinaʔaa**	**ɠinaʔitta** (M)	'rib'
	ʃalaɠɠaa	**ʃalaɠɠitta** (M)	'flat stone'
	ilkaa	**ilkitta** (M)	'tooth'
	χolaʔaa	**χolaʔitta** (M)	cactus species
	ɠinaʔaa	**ɠinaʔitta** (M)	'rib'
	lukkalaa	**lukkalitta** (M)	'chicken'
(28d)	**ikkiraa**	**ikkirteeta** (F)	'louse'
	χampiraa	**χampirteeta** (F)	'bird'
	talaa	**talteeta** (F)	'she-goat'

The singulative **okkatta** (M) 'cow' is derived from the plurative **okkaa** 'cows'. The singulative **apitta** (M) 'fire' may also serve as a stem to derive the plurative **apittaɗɗaa**.

4.2.9. Associative plural

Associative plural is marked by the particle **opa** followed by the noun it modifies.[7] Associative plural expresses that the noun which the associative particle modifies has an associate(s) whose name(s) is (are) not mentioned. The associative plural may be a subject as in (29a) or an object as in (29b).

(29a) **opa χampiruʔ ʔiɗeyin**

opa	*χampiru-ʔ*	*i=ɗey-i-n*
ASS	χampiro-NOM	3=come-PF-P

'χampiro and his associates came.'

(29b) **antiʔ ʔopa Apittun akkay**

anti-ʔ	*opa*	*Apitto=in*	*akk-ay*
1SG.PRO-NOM	ASS	Apitto=1	see-PF[3M]

'I saw ʔapitto and his associate(s).'

[7] The associative particle and the postposition indicating destination (see Section 8.2.1) have the same form **opa** but occur in different positions with regard to the noun they modify. I consider them to be distinct, homophonous morphemes.

4.3. Plurality in adjectives

Plural number agreement in adjectives is marked by reduplicating the root initial C_1V when there is a geminate consonant in the root as in (30), otherwise, C_1VC_1 as in (31). For example, in (30a), the initial C_1V of the adjectival root ɢalla?- 'to be thin, slim' is not reduplicated because the subject **inanta** 'girl' is singular. In (30b), it is reduplicated because the subject **tuparaa** 'girls' is plural. In the same fashion, in (31a), the initial C_1VC_1 of the adjectival root **ɖer-** 'to be long' is not reduplicated because the subject **ɢoyrasi?** 'the tree' is singular. In (31b), the initial C_1VC_1 of the adjectival root is reduplicated because the subject **ɢoraasini?** 'the trees' is plural.

(30a) **inantaasi? ʔiɢalla?i**
inanta-asi? *i=ɢalla?-i*
girl-DEM.M/F 3=be.slim-PF
'This girl is slim.'

(30b) **tuparoosini? ʔiɢaɢalla?i**
tuparaa-sini?i=ɢa-ɢalla?-i
girls-DEM.P 3=PL-be.slim-PF
'These girls are slim.'

(31a) **ɢoyrasi? ʔiɖeri**
ɢoyra-si? *i=ɖer-i*
tree-DEF.M/F 3=be.tall-PF
'The tree is tall.'

(31b) **ɢoraasini? ʔiɖeɖɖeri**
ɢoraa-sini? i=ɖeɖ-ɖer-i
tree-DEF.P 3=PL-be.tall-PF
'The trees are tall.'

We should note that reduplicating the adjectival root's initial $C_1V(C_1)$ shows only plural interpretation, and not plural gender agreement.

4.4. Semantic gender distinction

Names referring to certain domestic animals make a lexical semantic distinction between males and females. The lexical items that refer to 'sheep' are listed in (32a); those that refer to 'cow, ox, bull' are listed in (32b); and those that refer to 'goat' are listed in (32c).

	Male	Female	
(32a)	**laha** (M) 'ram'	**kaharta** (F) 'ewe'	
		sukeenta (F)	'female lamb'

(32b)	Male			Female	
	χorma (M)	'ox, bull'		**okkatta** (M)	'cow'
	mirkoota (M)	'young bull'		**koromta** (F)	'heifer'
				tullatta (M)	'old cow'

(32c)	**ɢolpa/ɢolpayta** (M)	'he-goat'	**talteeta** (F)	'she-goat'
			ritta (F)	'young she-goat'

From the data in (32), we see that all the lexical items that are semantically male trigger masculine gender agreement on the verb. But lexical items such as **ʔokkatta** 'cow' and **tullatta** 'old cow', which are semantically female, trigger masculine gender agreement on the verb as shown in (33).

(33a) **okkattasiʔ ʔidɬalay**
okkatta-siʔ *i=dɬal-ay*
cow-DEF.M/F 3=give.birth-PF[3M]
'The cow gave birth.'

(33b) **tullattasiʔ ʔipiʔay**
tullatta-siʔ *i=piʔ-ay*
old.cow-DEF.M/F 3=fall-PF[3M]
'The old cow fell.'

Lexical semantic gender distinction is also made in kinship terms. In the following table, I give the lexical items that refer to males in the first column, and their corresponding female names in the second column.

Male		Female	
aappaa	'father'	**aayyaa**	'mother'
aappaa	'husband'	**ahta**	'wife'
apuyyaata	'maternal uncle'	**maammata**	'aunt'
aakkaa	'grandfather'	**okkooyyita**	'grandmother'
oopaa	'grandson'	**oopta**	'granddaughter'
aʃuma	'nephew'	**aʃumta**	'niece'
alawa	'male sibling'	**alawta**	'female sibling'
hamiya	'baby boy'	**inanta**	'baby girl'

Table 1: Semantic gender distinction in kinship terms

Certain proper names also distinguish gender. In most instances, the female names are derived from male names by geminating the onset of the last syllable of the male name. One instance (last example) shows that when the penultimate syllable of a male name has a closed syllable, the coda of that syllable is geminated for the female name rather than the onset of the final syllable (i.e.

orχayto/orχayya). Most of the male names end in -o and the female counterparts end in -a.

(34a)	Male proper name	female proper name	source noun	meaning of source
	Katano	Katanna	katana	'season for sowing'
	Roopo	Rooppa	roopa	'rain'
	χampiro	χampirra	χampirteeta	'bird'
	Kappino	Kappinna	kappina	'bush'
	Urmale	Urmalla	ʔurmalaa	'market'
	Teykane	Teykanna	teykantaa	'morning'
	ɠuɗaaɗo	ɠuɗaaɗɗa	ɠuɗaaɗaa	'late morning'
	Kuyyawo	Kuyyanna	kuyyaʔta	'noon, day'
	Kallapo	Kallappa	kallapta	'late afternoon'
	Halkeeyo	Halkeeyya	halkeetta	'midnight'
	Orχayto	Orχayya	orχayta	'adopted child'

(34b)	Male proper name	female proper name	source noun	meaning of source
	Oraapo	Oraappa	oraap-	'to fetch water'
	Kutano	Kutanna	kut-	'to hunt'
	Kalʃo	Kalisso[8]	kalʃ-	'to make go home'

4.5. Diminutives

Diminutive is marked by the suffix -(tt)eeta. The diminutive suffix is added to nouns that show third person masculine gender value. The diminutive suffix renders a third person feminine gender value to the noun it is added to. The diminutive suffix implies that the addresser has a low opinion of the noun in question. For example, in (35a), the addresser has a high opinion of the noun ɠimaytasiʔ 'the old man', as it has no diminutive suffix; however, in (35b), it occurs with the diminutive suffix, implying that the addresser has a low opinion of the referent. In the translations of the examples below, I use the adjective 'little' to denote diminutive.

(35a) ɠimaytasiɠ ɠoyrasiʔ ʔihaaɗay
ɠimayta-siʔ *ɠoyra-siʔ* *i=haaɗ-ay*
old.man-DEF.M/F tree-DEF.M/F 3=carry-PF[3M]
'The old man carried the tree.'

(35b) ɠimayteetasiɠ ɠoyrasiʔ ʔihaaʔti
ɠimayta-eeta-siʔ *ɠoyra-siʔ* *i=haaɗ-t-i*
old.man-DIM-DEF.M/F tree-DEF.M/F 3=carry-3F-PF
'The little old man carried the tree.'

[8] kalisso is underlyingly kaliʃto.

Diminutive does not seem to occur with nouns that trigger plural gender agreement. The only exception that I noted is **innaa** 'child' but even then, the form of the diminutive is different: -**innaata** as shown in (36b).

(36a) **innaasiniʔ ʔipiʔin**

innaa-siniʔ	*i=piʔ-i-n*
child-DEF.P	3=fall-PF-P

'The child fell.'

(36b) **inninnaatasiʔ ʔipiʔti**

innaa-nnaata-siʔ	*i=piʔ-t-i*
child-DIM-DEF.M/F	3=fall-3F-PF

'The lttle child fell.'

The female lexical items **okkatta** 'cow' and **tullatta** 'old cow' that trigger masculine gender agreement on the verb acquire third person feminine gender agreement on the verb when the diminutive suffix is added to them. This is shown in (37).

(37a) **okkatteetasiʔ ʔitoʔti**

okkatta-eeta-siʔ	*i=toy-t-i*
cow-DIM-DEF.M/F	3=die[SG]-3F-PF

'The little cow died.'

(37b) **tullatteetasiʔ ʔipiʔti**

tullatta-eeta-siʔ	*i=piʔ-t-i*
old.cow-DIM-DEF.M/F	3=fall-3F-PF

'The little old cow fell.'

In the following examples, we have the noun **ɠoyra** 'tree'. This noun has third person masculine gender agreement without the diminutive as in (38a). However, with the diminutive suffix, it acquires third person feminine gender agreement on the verb, as illustrated in (38b).

(38a) **ɠoyrasiʔ ʔikupaɗay**

ɠoyra-siʔ	*i=kup-aɗ-ay*
tree.M-DEF.M/F	3=burn-MID-PF[3M]

'The tree was burnt.'

(38b) **ɠoyritteetasiʔ ʔikupatti**

ɠoyra-tteeta-siʔ	*i=kup-aɗ-t-i*
tree.F-DIM-DEF.M/F	3=burn-MID-3F-PF

'The little tree was burnt.'

When the performance of a referent in question excels the expectation of the addresser, the diminutive suffix expresses a surprise of the addresser. The following are illustrative examples:

(39a) **raakitteetasiʔ ʔiʃapaatti**
raaka-tteeta-siʔ *i=ʃapaad-t-i*
old.woman-DIM-DEF.M/F 3=be.strong-3F-PF
'Wow! The old little woman became strong.'

(39b) **aappitteetasiʕ ʕoyrasiʔ ʔihaʔti**
aappaa-tteeta-siʔ *ʕoyra-siʔ* *i=haḏ-t-i*
father-DIM-DEF.M/F tree/wood-DEF.M/F 3=carry-3F-PF
'Wow! The little man carried the log.'

Some nouns seem to have frozen diminutive suffix: **talteeta** 'she-goat', **lammitteeta** 'second wife'.

4.6. Indefinite reference and indefinite-specific morphemes

Indefinite reference is not morphologically marked both in subject and object function. This can be seen from the nouns **laha** 'ram', **ʔappitta** 'fire', **ʕimayaa** 'old men' and **χormaḏaa** 'bulls' with indefinite reference which appear in their citation forms as the following sentences demonstrate.

(40a) **antil laha impiḏḏa**
anti-ʔ *laha* *in=piḏḏ-a*
1SG.PRO-NOM ram 1=buy[SG]-IPF.FUT
'I will buy a ram.'

(40b) **inantasiʔ ʔapitta iʔopassi**
inanta-siʔ *apitta* *i=opay-ʃ-t-i*
girl-DEF.M/F fire 3=build.fire-DCAUS-3F-PF
'The girl built fire.'

(40c) **ʕimayaa ḏise caa**
ʕimayaa *ḏise* *kiy-aa*
old.men there be-IPF.PRES
'There are old men over there.'

(40d) **iʃoonnaχ χormaḏaa heerin**
iʃoonna-ʔ *χormaḏaa=i* *heer-i-n*
3PL.PRO-NOM bulls=3 buy[PL]-PF-P
'They bought bulls.'

Specific-indefinite reference may be marked by **tokka** 'one.M' or **takka** 'one.F' or **takkan ~ takka-n** 'one-P'. In the following examples, **tokka**, **takka** and **takkan** speficy the nouns **hamiya** 'boy', **ʔinanta** 'girl' and **χormaɗaa** 'oxen', respectively. These nouns have an inherent gender value: masculine, feminine and plural, respectively.

(41a) **hamiya tokkaʔ ʔiɗeyay**
hamiya *tokka-ʔ* *i=ɗey-ay*
boy INDEF.M-NOM 3=come-PF
'A certain boy came.'

(41b) **inanta takkaʔ ʔiɗeʔti**
inanta *takka-ʔ* *i=ɗeʔ-t-i*
girl INDEF.F-NOM 3=come-3F-PF
'A certain girl came.'

(41c) **χormaɗaa takka-n=in akk-ay**
oxen INDEF-P=1 see-PF
'I saw a certain oxen.'

Sex-unspecific singulative nouns that have a specific-indefinite reference may have a masculine, feminine or plural gender value. For instance, the singulative **alleeta** 'house (F)' requires a feminine gender specific-indefinite reference marker **takka** in (42a). The singular **ɠoyra** 'tree (M)' requires a masculine gender specific indefinite reference marker **tokka** in (42b). The singulative **filaa** 'comb (P)' requires a plural gender specific-indefinite reference marker **takkan** in (42c).

(42a) **alleeta takkan piɗɗaɗay**
alleeta *takka=in* *piɗɗ-aɗ-ay*
house INDEF.F=1 buy[SG]-MID-PF[3M]
'I bought a certain house for myself.'

(42b) **ɠoyra tokkan piɗɗaɗay**
ɠoyra *tokka=in* *piɗɗ-aɗ-ay*
tree INDEF.M=1 buy[SG]-MID-PF[3M
'I bought a certain tree for myself.'

(42c) **filaa takka-n=in piɗɗ-aɗ-ay**
comb INDEF-P=1 buy[SG]-MID-PF[3M]
'I bought a certain comb for myself.'

It should be noted that the specific-indefinite reference **takka**, but not **tokka**, is used in the numeral system, meaning 'one' (see Numerals in 4.8).

4.7. Definite reference

Definite reference is marked by suffixes -siʔ and -siniʔ on nouns. Inherently definite entities such as proper names may also appear with the definite suffix -siʔ.

Nouns which trigger masculine or feminine gender agreement add the definite suffix -siʔ. For instance, in (43), the singulative nouns **ɠimayta** 'old man' and **raaka** 'old woman' and the plurative noun **orra** 'people' occur with the M/F definite reference -siʔ.

(43a) **ɠimaytasiʔ ʔimukay**
ɠimayta-siʔ *i=muk-ay*
old.man-DEF.M/F 3=sleep-PF[3M]
'The old man slept.'

(43b) **raaka-siʔ ʔimukti**
raaka-siʔ *i=muk-t-i*
old.woman-DEF.M/F 3=sleep-3F-PF
'The old woman slept.'

(43c) **orrasiʔ ʔimukay**
orra-siʔ *i=muk-ay*
people-DEF.M/F 3=sleep-PF[3M]
'The people slept.'

Nouns that trigger plural gender agreement add the definite suffix -siniʔ. For instance, in (44), the singulatives **furaa** 'comb' and **aannaa** 'milk' and the plurative **karmaɗaa** 'lions' occur with the plural definite reference suffix.

(44a) **furaasiniʔ ʔipatin**
furaa-siniʔ *i=pat-i-n*
key-DEF.P 3=disappear-PF-P
'The key disappeared.'

(44b) **aannaasiniʔ ʔiŋapalin**
aannaa-siniʔ *i=ŋapal-i-n*
milk-DEF.P 3=be.spoiled-PF-P
'The milk went bad.'

(44c) **karmaɗaa-siniʔ ʔihirin**
karmaɗaa-siniʔ *i=hir-i-n*
lions-DEF.P 3=run[PL]-PF-P
'The lions ran.'

Nouns derived from verb roots occur with the M/F definite suffix -siʔ as can be seen from the following examples.

(45) **keeritaasiʔ ʔiʔana kaftiʃay**
keer-taa-siʔ *i=ʔana*
run[SG]-VN-DEF.M/F 3=1SG.PRO.ACC

kafad-ʃ-ay
tire[MID]-CAUS-PF[3M]
'The running made me tired.'

Proper names can occur with the M/F definite suffix -siʔ. The definite suffix is added to a proper name when there is shared knowledge between the interlocutors about the person. Examples:

(46a) **Katannasiʔ ʔiʔaakta**
Katanna-siʔ *i=aak-t-a*
Katanna-DEF.M/F 3=be.well-3F-IPF.FUT
'The Katanna is well (recovering from illness).'

(46b) **kappoolesiʔ ʔayyee ca**
kappoole-siʔ *ayye=i* *kiy-a*
Kappoole-DEM.M/F here=3 be-IPF.FUT
'The Kappoole is here.'

The shared knowledge between the interlocutors in (46a) is about Katanna's health situation while in (46b), it is about Kappoole's whereabouts.

When definite suffixes are followed by the dative or instrumental suffix, the definite suffixes have the forms -sit for M/F (47) and -sinit for P as shown in (48).

(47a) **okkattasitip piʃaa ɗaaʃi**
okkatta-sit-ʔ *piʃaa* *ɗaaʃ-i*
cow-DEF.M/F-DAT water give-IMP.SG
'(You (SG)) Give water for the cow!'

(47b) **iskatteetasiʔ ʔorrasitiʔee ʃaɠaa katti**
iskatteeta-siʔ *orra-sit-ʔ=i* *ʃaɠaa*
woman-DEF.M/F people-DEF.M/F-DAT=3 local.beer

kat-t-i
sell-3F-PF
'The woman sold the people local beer.'

(47c) **kaasasitinin karmaasiʔ ʔiʃʃay**
kaasa-sit-n = in *karmaa-siʔ* *ʔiʃʃ-ay*
gun-DEF.M/F-INST = 1 lion-DEF.M/F kill-PF[3M]
'I killed the lion with the gun.'

(48a) **antiʔ ʔinnaasiniti?in χopaa pidɗay**
anti-ʔ *ʔinnaa-sinit-ʔ = in* *χopaa*
1SG.PRO-NOM boy-DEF.P-DAT = 1 shoes

pidɗ-ay
buy[SG]-PF[3M]
'I bought shoes for the boy.'

(48b) **teepaasinitin χormaasih hiɗi**
teepaa-sinit-n **χorma-asiʔ** **hiɗɗ-*i***
rope-DEF.P-INST ox-DEM.M/F tie.SG-IMP.SG
'(You (SG)) Tie this ox with the rope!'

Definite reference does not obligatorily require definite marking. In stories and conversations, for instance, it is quite customary to encounter entities that have been mentioned before used without definite suffixes later in the story or conversation. For example, in sentence (49), taken from a story about a lion that lived in a jungle, the noun **karmaa** 'lion', which has been mentioned a couple of times earlier in the story, appears without a definite marker.

(49) **karmaa ka ɠapaleesiɠ ɠaraa kaassumaa kaassaɗay**
karmaa *ka* *ɠapaleeta-asiʔ* *ɠaraa*
lion and monkey-DEM.M/F on

kaassuma = i *kaassaɗ-ay*
question = 3 ask-PF[3M]
'And, [the] lion asked this monkey [the] question.'

4.8. Demonstrative suffixes

There are four demonstrative suffixes that express proximity. These are: **-oosiʔ**, **-asiʔ**, **-siʔ** and **-oosiniʔ**. The suffixes **-oosiʔ**, **-asiʔ**, and **-siʔ** occur with nouns that trigger an M/F gender. The suffix **-oosiniʔ** occurs with nouns that trigger a plural gender. Among **-oosiʔ**, **-asiʔ**, and **-siʔ**, the suffix **-oosiʔ** is added to any nominal root. Examples:

(50a) **kut-oosiʔ**
dog-DEM.M/F
'this dog'

(50b) karm-oosiʔ
lion-DEM.M/F
'this lion'

(50c) orr-oosiʔ
people-DEM.M/F
'these people'

The following are illustrative sentential examples:

(51a) kutoosis sʷaa ihatay
kut-oosiʔ *soʔaa* *i=hat-ay*
dog-DEM.M/F meat 3=steal-PF[3M]
'This dog stole meat.'

(51b) ɗakoosiʔ ʔiʔulsi
ɗak-oosiʔ *i=ʔuls-i*
stone-DEM.M/F 3=be.heavy-PF
'This stone is heavy.'

(51c) orroosiʔ ʔileki
orr-oosiʔ *i=lek-i*
people-DEM.M/F 3=be.many-PF
'These people are numerous.'

The demonstrative suffix -asiʔ is added to nominal roots that have the nominaliser -a (but not -aa) or the singulative suffix -ta, as shown in the following illustrative phrases.

(52a) kuta-asiʔ
dog-DEM.M/F
'this dog'

(52b) nama-asiʔ
person-DEM.M/F
'this person'

(52c) tuuyyata-asiʔ
pig-DEM.M/F
'this pig'

(52d) tapayta-asiʔ
rat-DEM.M/F
'this rat'

The following are illustrative sentential examples in which the nouns **kuta** ‘dog’, **ɠoyra** ‘tree’ and **tapayta** ‘rat’ have the definite suffix **-asiʔ**.

(53a) **kutaasiʔ ʔipoori**
kuta-asiʔ *i=poor-i*
dog-DEM.M/F 3=be.black-PF
‘This dog is black.’

(53b) **ɠoyraasiʔ ʔiɠepay**
ɠoyra-asiʔ *i=ɠep-ay*
tree-DEM.M/F 3=be.broken-PF[3M]
‘This tree was broken.’

(53c) **tapaytaasiʔ ʔikappi**
tapayta-asiʔ *i=kapp-i*
rat-DEM.M/F 3=be.fat-PF
‘This rat is fat.’

Nominal roots that have the nominaliser **-aa** do not occur with the demonstrative suffix **-asiʔ**: **karmaa** ‘lion’, **ɗakaa** ‘stone’ **karkaa** ‘beehive’, **maakaa** ‘snake’. The nominal roots of such nouns occur only with the demonstrative suffix **-oosiʔ**.

The demonstrative suffix **-siʔ** occurs with nominal roots that have the nominaliser **-a** (but not **-aa**) or the singulative suffix **-ta**. In such cases **-siʔ** replaces the nominaliser and the singulative suffix. Note that **-siʔ** has the same form as the definite M/F reference marker.

(54a) **por-siʔ** < **pora** ‘road’
road-DEM.M/F
‘this road’

(54b) **tik-siʔ** < **tika** ‘house’
house-DEM.M/F
‘this house’

(54c) **ɠimay-siʔ** < **ɠimayta** ‘old man’
old.man-DEM.M/F
‘this old man’

(54d) **ɗam-siʔ** < **ɗamta** ‘food’
food-DEM.M/F
‘this food’

The following are illustrative sentential examples:

(55a) **ɠimaysiʔ ʔipaaɠni**
ɠimay-siʔ *i=paaɠ-ni*
old.man-DEM.M/F 3=be.sick-IPF.PRES
'This old man is sick.'

(55b) **ɗamsiʔ ʔakataa meʔawni**
ɗam-siʔ *akata=i* *meʔaw-ni*
food-DEM.M/F very=3 be.sweet-IPF.PRES
'This food is quite delicious.'

(55c) **harreesiʔ ʔiɗeepoodti**
harree-siʔ *i=ɗeep-oodɗ-t-i*
donkey-DEM.M/F 3=be.thirsty-MID-3F-PF
'This donkey is thirsty.'

Nominal roots with a final **CC** (e.g. **moott-** 'friend', **hark-** 'hand') do not allow the demonstrative suffix **-siʔ**.

The demonstrative suffix **-oosiniʔ**, as mentioned earlier, is added to nouns that trigger a plural gender agreement on the verb. For instance, the nouns **innaa** 'child', **piʃaa** 'water', **harreewwaa** 'donkeys' and **ɗillaa** 'fields' in the following examples occur with **-osiniʔ**.

(56a) **innoosiniʔ ʔipiʔin**
innaa-oosiniʔ *i=piʔ-i-n*
child-DEM.P 3=be.thin-PF-P
'This child fell.'

(56b) ***piʃoosiniʔ ʔipooraawin***
piʃaa-oosiniʔ *i=pooraaw-i-n*
water-DEM.P 3=be.impure-PF-P
'This water became impure.'

(56c) **harreeww-oosiniʔ ʔi=ka-kapp-i**
harreewwaa-oosiniʔ *i=ka-kapp-i*
donkeys-DEM.P 3=PL-be.fat-PF
'These donkeys are fat.'

(56d) **ɗilloosiniʔ ʔipappalɗi**
ɗillaa-oosiniʔ *i=pap-palɗ-i*
fields-DEM.P 3=PL-be.wide-PF
'These fields are wide.'

Using the nominal root **por-** 'road' or the singulative noun **pora** 'road', in (57) we show the occurrence of the demonstrative suffixes and the definite reference suffix:

(57) **por-si?** 'this road'
por-oosi? 'this road'
pora-asi? 'this road'
pora-si? 'the road'

Distal location is expressed by a locative adverb (see Section 8.2.1), the existential verb and a noun with a demonstrative suffix. The following are illustrative examples:

(58a) **namsiɗ ɗisee co moottaawu**

nam-si?	*ɗise=i*	*kiy-o*
person-DEM.M/F	there=3	be-3M

moottaa-wu
friend-1SG.POSS.M/F
'That man is my friend.'

(58b) **kaharroosini? ?irre ca ileki**

kaharr-oosini?	*irre*	*kiy-a*	*i=lek-i*
sheep-DEM.P	up.there	be-IPF.FUT	3=be.many-PF

'Those sheep up there are numerous.'

4.9. Numerals

4.9.1. Cardinal numbers

The cardinal number system is decimal. The cardinal **kuma** 'thousand' is the highest basic unit of the numeral system. The basic cardinal numbers are the following:

(59) **takka** 'one'
lakki 'two'
sessaa 'three'
afur 'four'
ken 'five'
leh 'six'
tappa 'seven'
settee? 'eight'
sakal 'nine'
kuɗan 'ten'
ɗippa 'hundred'

kuma ‘thousand’

The cardinal numbers **ɗippa** ‘hundred’ and **kuma** ‘thousand’ can occur with the basic cardinal units from one to nine as shown in (60a-b). Moreover, **kuma** ‘thousand’ may occur with the basic cardinal unit **kuɗan** ‘ten’ and **ɗippa** ‘hundred’, as demonstrated in (60c-d).

(60a) **ɗippa** **takka**
hundred one
‘one hundred’

(60b) **kuma** **lakki**
thousand two
‘two thousand’

(60c) **kuma** **kuɗan**
thousand ten
‘ten thousand’

(60d) **kuma** **ɗippa**
thousand hundred
‘hundred thousand’

The cardinal numbers **kuɗan** ‘ten’, **ɗippa** ‘hundred’ and **kuma** ‘thousand’ may take plural suffixes, as in (61). Note that there is metathesis when **kuɗan** ‘ten’ is plural: **kunɗa**. The plural suffixes indicate ‘many tens/hundreds/thousands’.

(61a) **kunɗaɗɗaa**
‘tens’

(61b) **ɗippaɗaa**
‘hundreds’

(61c) **kumaɗɗaa**
‘thousands’

Cardinals between eleven and nineteen are formed from the base ten (**kuɗan**), the conjunction **ka** ‘and’ and the lower cardinals (one to nine). Literally, the combination means ‘ten and X’, where X stands for a lower cardinal. The combinations are as follows:

(62)

kuɗan ka takka	‘eleven’	(lit.: ten and one)
kuɗan ka lakki	‘twelve’	(lit.: ten and two)
kuɗan ka sessaa	‘thirteen’	(lit.: ten and three)
kuɗan ka afur	‘fourteen’	(lit.: ten and four)

kuɗan ka ken	'fifteen'	(lit.: ten and five)
kuɗan ka leh	'sixteen'	(lit.: ten and six)
kuɗan ka tappa	'seventeen'	(lit.: ten and seven)
kuɗan ka settee	'eighteen'	(lit.: ten and eight)
kuɗan ka sakal	'nineteen'	(lit.: ten and nine)

Multiples of ten, hundred or thousand are formed from base **kunɗa** <**kuɗan**> 'tens', **ɗippa** 'hundred' or **kuma** 'thousand' and the unit cardinals from one to nine. The following are illustrative examples.

(63)

kunɗa afur	'forty'
ɗippa sessaa	'three hundred'
ɗippa ken	'five hundred'
kuma leh	'six thousand'
kuma sakal	'nine thousand'

It is possible to say **kunɗa takka** 'ten' (lit. 'one ten').

Addition is expressed by **ka** after the unit ten, but by **ka** or **ʔ** otherwise. The **ʔ** appears as a gemination of the initial consonant of the following cardinal. Addition of single digits to the multiples of ten, hundred or thousand requires base ten, hundred or thousand followed by the unit cardinal of the multiple of ten, hundred or thousand. The cardinals occur in descending order from left to right. Here are some examples:

(64a) **kunɗa lakkis sessaa**

kunɗà	*lakki-ʔ*	*sessaa*
ten	two-plus	three

'twenty-three'

(64b) **ɗippa sessaak kunɗa ken**

ɗippa	*sessaa-ʔ*	*kunɗà*	*ken*
hundred	three-plus	tens	five

'three hundred fifty'

(64c) **ɗippa lakkik kunɗa lakkis sessaa**

ɗippa	*lakkiʔ*	*kunɗà*	*lakki-ʔ*	*sessaa*
hundred	two	ten	two-plus	three

'two hundred twenty-three'

(64d) **ɗippa ken ka kunɗa afuris sessaa**

ɗippa	*ken*	*ka*	*kunɗà*	*afur-ʔ*	*sessaa*
hundred	five	and	ten	four-plus	three

'five hundred forty-three'

(64e) **kuma afur ka ɗippa sessak kunɗa ken**
kuma *afur* *ka* *ɗippa* *sessa-ʔ*
thousand four and hundred three-plus

kunɗa *ken*
ten five
'four thousand three hundred and fifty'

The addition of digits of hundred expressed by **ʔ** in (64c) can be replaced by **ka** 'and'. Likewise, **ka** 'and' in (64d) can be replaced by the suffix **ʔ** 'plus'.

Single digits after the multiples of hundred are expressed by a multiple of hundred followed by conjunction **ka** 'and', postposition **ɠaraa** 'on' and the single unit. Similarly, single units or multiples of ten after the multiples of thousand are expressed by multiple of thousand followed by the conjunction **ka** 'and', postposition **ɠaraa** 'on' and the single unit or multiple of ten. Examples:

(65a) **ɗippa** **lakki** **ka** **ɠara-a** **sessaa**
hundred two and on-LOC three
'two hundred and three'

(65b) **kuma** **tappa** **ka** **ɠara-a** **sakal**
thousand seven and on-LOC nine
'seven thousand and nine'

(65c) **kuma** **ken** **ka** **ɠara-a** **kuɗan** **leh**
thousand five and on-LOC ten six
'five thousand and sixty'

4.9.2. Mathematical operations

Two arithmetic exercise booklets (booklet I (2001) and booklet II (2004)) have been written in Konso by the Evangelical Church of Mekane Yesus. With very little adaptation, I use the terminology used for mathematical operations in booklet II. The terminology is derived from verb roots or verb stems: the mathematical operation for addition is derived from the verb root **paɗaaw-** 'add, increase', subtraction from **χaʔʃ-** 'to cause to rise, lift', multiplication from **lek-** 'to be many', division from **ɠoot-** 'to divide'. The expressions are given in (66a). In (66b), I provide the glossed versions of some of the expressions.

(66a) **paɗaawtu** addition (+)
χaʔissu /*χaʔʃtu*/ subtraction (–)
lekissu /*lekʃtu*/ multiplication (×)
ɠoottu division (÷)

minakkittu /*mina?kittu*/	equal to	(=)
ʛara ʛaptu	greater than	(>)
kelpa χata kittu	less than	(<)
ʛara ʛaptu taakkite minakkittu	greater than or equal to	(≥)
kelpa χata kittu taakkite minakkittu	less than or equal to	(≤)

(66b) **ʛara ʛap-t-u**
on exceed-3F-DP
'greater than (>)'

kelpa χata kittu
kela-pa *χata* *kit-t-u*
under-to down be-3F-DP
'less than (<)'

ʛara ʛaptu taakkite minak kittu
ʛara *ʛap-t-u* *taakkite* *mina-ʔ* *kit-t-u*
on exceed-3F-DP otherwise front-DEST be-3F-DP
'greater than or equal to (≥)'

kelpa χata kittu taakkite minak kittu
kela-pa *χata* *kit-t-u* *taakkite* *mina-ʔ*
under-DEST down be-3F-DP otherwise front-DEST

kit-t-u
be-3F-DP
'less than or equal to (≤)'

Note that all the expressions of mathematical operations have the third person feminine gender agreement marker **-t**.

Expressions of mathematical operations are introduced by conditional conjunctions. In addition, for the operation of addition the conjunction **ʛara** 'on' is required. The suffix **-ʔ** 'plus' is added to the conjunction. The following is an illustrative example.

(67) **oo lakki ʛaral lakki paɗaawan, afure koɗɗini**
oo *lakki* *ʛara-ʔ* *lakki* *paɗaaw-a-n*
if two on-plus two add-IPF.FUT-P

afur=i *koɗɗ-ni*
four=3 become-IPF.PRES
'If two is added to two, it becomes four.' (2 + 2 = 4)

The operation of addition may also be expressed by the conjunction **ka** 'and' as shown below:

(68a) **lakki ka sassaa kenee koɗɗini**
lakki *ka* *sassaa* *ken=i* *koɗɗ-ni*
two and three five=3 become-IPF.PRES
'Two and three become five.'

(68b) **sessa ka afur tappaa koɗɗini**
sessa *ka* *afur* *tappa=i* *koɗɗ-ni*
three and four seven=3 become-IPF.PRES
'Three and four become seven.'

Like that of addition, the operation of subtraction requires the conjunction **ɠara** 'on' to which the locative suffix **-a** is attached. The following is an illustrative example.

(69) **oo leh ɠaraa lakki χaʔʃan, afure kelaa hasini**
oo *leh* *ɠara-a* *lakki* *χaʔʃ-a-n*
if six on-LOC two lift-IPF.FUT-P

afur=i *kela-a* *hasi-ni*
four=3 under-LOC remain-IPF.PRES
'If two is taken away from six, four remains.' (6 – 2 = 4)

The following is an example of the operation of multiplication:

(70) **oo sessaan leh kiɗan, kuɗan ka settee ʔe koɗɗini**
oo *sessaa-n* *leh* *kiɗ-a-n,*
if three-times six say-IPF.FUT-P

kuɗan *ka* *settee ʔ=i* *koɗɗ-ni*
ten and eight=3 become-IPF.PRES
'If six is said three times, it becomes eighteen.' (6 × 3 = 18)

The following is an example of the operation of the division.

(71) **oo kuɗan pora lakkiɠ ɠootan, kene koɗɗini**
oo *kuɗan* *pora* *lakki-ʔ* *ɠoot-a-n*
if ten place two-DAT divide-IPF.FUT-P

ken=i *koɗɗ-ni*
four=3 become-IPF.PRES
'If ten is divided into two places, it becomes five.' (10 ÷ 2 = 5)

The examples in (72a) and (72b) are illustrative examples for the operations of greater than and less than, respectively.

(72a) **tappak ken ɠaraa ɠapta**
tappa-ʔ *ken* *ɠara=i* *ɠap-t-a*
seven-NOM five on=3 exceed-3F-IPF.FUT
'Seven is greater than five.' (7 > 5)

(72b) **sakalik kuɗan kelpa χataa kitta**
sakali-ʔ *kuɗan* *kela-opa* *χata=i*
nine-NOM ten under-to down=3

kit-t-a
be-3F-IPF.FUT
'Nine is less than ten.' (9 < 10)

4.9.3. Ordinals

All ordinal numerals, except for 'first', are formed by adding the suffix **-atta** to the cardinal numerals. The ordinal numeral 'first' is formed from the verb root **paayy-** 'to start, begin'. The ordinal number 'second' is formed from the older Cushitic root **lamm-** 'two' (cf. the cardinal **lakki** 'two') and the suffix **-atta**. It is also important to point out: that the final vowel in **sessaa** 'three' is shortened in the ordinal, that there is metathesis in the ordinal numeral **arf-atta** 'fourth' (cf. **afur** 'four'), that there is vowel deletion in **saklatta** 'ninth' (cf. **sakal** 'nine'), and that /t/ replaces the glottal stop in the cardinal number **settee?** 'eight'.

(73)

paayyuta	'first'
lammatta	'second'
sessatta	'third'
arfatta	'fourth'
kenatta	'fifth'
lehatta	'sixth'
tappatta	'seventh'
setteetatta	'eighth'
saklatta	'ninth'
kunɗatta	'tenth'
kuɗan ka takkatta	'eleventh'
kuɗan ka sessatta	'thirteenth'
kunɗa kenatta	'fiftieth'
ɗippatta	'hundredth'

4.10. Nominal derivation

4.10.1. Denominal/adjectival abstract nominals

Abstract nominals may be derived from nominal or adjectival roots (not from derived stems) by the suffix **-um**. The abstract suffix is followed by the suffixes **-a** or **-aa**. Abstract nominals derived from nominal roots occur with **-a** (M) while those derived from adjectival roots occur with **-aa** (P). For example, the abstract nominal **innuma** 'childhood (M)' in (74a) is derived from **innaa** 'child (P)' while the abstract nominal **kappumaa** 'fatness (P)' in (74b) is derived from the adjectival root **kapp-** 'be fat'.

(74a) **innumasiʔ ʔiʔiʃa ɗiiʃay**
innaa-um-a-siʔ *i=iʃa* *ɗiiʃ-ay*
child-ABS-NMZ-DEF.M/F 3=3SGM.PRO[ACC] leave-PF[3M]
'He does not behave like a child any longer.'
(lit.: The childhood left him.)

(74b) **okkattasik kappumaa ipaayyay**
okkatta-siʔ *kapp-um-aa* *i=paayy-ay*
cow-DEF.M/F be.fat-ABS-NMLZ 3=start-PF[3M]
'The cow started to get fat.'
(lit.: The cow started fatness.)

An abstract noun referring to 'childhood' is also derived from the suppletive multiple reference noun **hellaa** 'children (P)': **helluma** 'childhood (M)'

4.10.2. Deverbal agentive nominals

Deverbal agentive nominals are derived from verb roots by the suffix **-aamp**. The agentive suffix is followed by the nominal gender suffixes **-ayta** for masculine, **-ayt-eeta** for feminine and **-ayaa** for plural. The feminine suffix is a serial derivation in that it is built on the masculine agentive. From the verb roots **ɠot-** 'dig', **koɗ-** 'work' and **pol-** 'joke', we derive the masculine agentive nominals (75a), the feminine agentive nominals (75b) and the plural agentive nominals (75c).

(75a) **ɠotaamp-ayta** 'farmer.3M'
koɗaamp-ayta 'worker.3M'
polaamp-ayta 'joker.3M'

(75b) **ɠotaamp-ayt-eeta** 'farmer.3F'
koɗaamp-ayt-eeta 'worker.3F'
polaamp-ayt-eeta 'joker.3F'

(75c) **ʕotaamp-ayaa** ‘farmer.3P’
kodaamp-ayaa ‘worker.3P’
polaamp-ayaa ‘joker.3P’

In the following examples, I show the nominal gender agreement with various subjects. In (76a), the agentive nominal occurs with the nominal masculine gender suffix **-ayta** for the semantically singular subject **nama** ‘man’. In (76b), the agentive nominal occurs with the nominal masculine gender suffix **-ayta** for the semantically plural subject **χonsitta** ‘the Konso’. In (76c), the agentive nominal occurs with the nominal feminine gender suffix **-ayteeta** for the semantically plural subject **kuyleeta** ‘the Ts’amakko’. Lastly, in (76d), the agentive nominal occurs with the nominal plural gender suffix **-ayaa** for the semantically singular subject **innaa** ‘child’.

(76a) **namoosiʕ ʕotaampayta**
nama-osi? *ʕot-aamp-ayta*
man-DEM.M/F farm-AGENT-3M
‘This man is a (hard-working) farmer.’

(76b) **χonsitta** **ʕot-aamp-ayta**
Konso.PL farm-AGENT-3M
‘The Konso are (hard-working) farmers.’

(76c) **kuyleeta** **ʕot-aamp-ayt-eeta**
Ts’amakko.PL farm-AGENT-3M-3F
‘The Ts’amakko are (hard-working) farmers.’

(76d) **innoosiniʕ ʕotaampayta**
innaa-osini? *ʕot-aamp-ayaa*
child-DEM.P farm-AGENT-3P
‘This child is a (hard-working) farmer.’

4.10.3. Denominal ethnic nominals

Nationals or individuals of ethnic groups or place of residence (e.g. village) may be derived from nominal roots by means of gender suffixes: **-itta** (M) for male, **-itteeta** (F) for female and **-itta** (M), **-aa** (P) or **-eeta** (F) for plural. The plural form is the one used to refer to the name of the ethnic group or residents of a place. Table 2 contains illustrative examples for derived nominals referring to nationalities or ethnic groups. Table 3 contains illustrative examples for derived nominals referring to residents of particular villages.

Male	Female	Plural	
χons-itta Konso man	**χons-itt-eeta** Konso woman	**χons-itta** (M) Konso people	Konso
χoyr-itta	**χoyr-itt-eeta**	**χoyr-aa** (P)	Burji
kawwaaɗ-itta	**kawwaaɗ-itt-eeta**	**kawwaaɗ-aa** (M)	Gawwada
ʃiraat-itta	**ʃiraat-itt-eeta**	**ʃiraat-aa** (M)	Diraaʃe
kuyl-itta	**kuyl-itt-eeta**	**kuyl-eeta** (F)	Ts'amakko
ɠaww-itta	**ɠaww-itt-eeta**	**ɠaww-eeta** (F)	Amhara

Table 2: Examples of derived nominals referring to nationality or ethnic group

Male	Female	Plural	Village name
kuum-itta (male) person from Kuume	**kuum-itt-eeta** (female) person from Kuume	**kuuma** (M) people from Kuume village	Kuume
maʃaɠ-itta	**maʃaɠ-itt-eeta**	**maʃaɠaa** (M)	Maʃaɠe
ɗekatt-itta	**ɗekatt-itt-eeta**	**ɗekattoota** (F)	ɗekatto
sawkam-itta	**sawkam-itt-eeta**	**sawkamaata** (F)	Sawkama
kaaʃal-itta	**kaaʃal-itt-eeta**	**kaaʃalaa** (M)	Kaaʃale

Table 3: Examples of derived nominals referring to residents of particular villages

4.10.4. Denominal nouns with indication of characteristic

Persons with certain characteristic are derived from nouns with the suffix **-ool** which is followed by the nominal gender marking suffixes **-ayta** (M), **-ayt-eeta** (F) and **-ayaa** for male, female and plural, respectively. The derivation is productive mainly occurring with plural nouns and has a semantic specialisation indicating large quantity of the entities in question. With singulatives, it indicates that the noun in question has a large size. For example, from the singulative **matta** 'head', **kessa** 'chest' and plurative **ɗillaa** 'fields', we may derive the masculine nominals in (77a), feminine nominals in (77b) or plural nominals in (77c).

(77a) **matt-ool-ayta** 'one (M) with a big head'
kess-ool-ayta 'one (M) with a broad chest'
ɗill-ool-ayta 'one (M) with many fields'

(77b) **matt-ool-ayt-eeta** 'one (F) with a big head'
kess-ool-ayt-eeta 'one (F) with a broad chest'
ɗill-ool-ayt-eeta 'one (F) with many fields'

(77c) **matt-ool-ayaa** 'ones with big heads'
kess-ool-ayaa 'ones with broad chests'
ɗill-ool-ayaa 'ones with many fields'

With the noun **χolmaa** ‘neck (P)’, the derivation **χolm-ool-ayta** means ‘a man who uses force to obtain something’; **χolm-ool-ayt-eeta** ‘a woman who uses force to get something’ and **χolm-ool-ayaa** ‘people who use force to obtain something’. With the noun **hoppatta** ‘guts (M)’ the derivation indicates greed: **hoppatt-oolayta** ‘a greedy man’; **hoppatt-ool-ayt-eeta** ‘a greedy woman’ and **hoppatt-ool-ayaa** ‘greedy people’.

4.10.5. Deadjectival individual entities

Deadjectival nominals are derived from adjectival roots with the nominal gender suffixes **-ayta**, **-ayteeta** and **-yaa** for third person masculine, feminine and plural, respectively. Plural deadjectival nominals are also characterised by having the adjectival root based on the plural adjective and hence containing initial $C_1V(C_1)$ reduplication. For instance, from the adjectival roots **ɗer-** ‘be tall, long’, **kapp-** ‘be fat’ and **ɠalla?-** ‘be thin’, we can derive the masculine deadjectival nominals (78a), third person feminine deadjectival nominals (78b), singulative deadjectival nominals with plural gender (78c) or plural deadjectival nominals (78d).

(78a) **ɗerayta** ‘tall one.3M’
kappayta ‘fat one.3M’
ɠalla?ayta ‘thin one.3M’

(78b) **ɗerayteeta** ‘tall one.3F’
kappayteeta ‘fat one.3F’
ɠalla?ayteeta ‘thin one.3F’

(78c) **ɗerayaa** ‘tall one.P’
kappayaa ‘fat one.P’
ɠalla?ayaa ‘thin one.P’

(78d) **ɗeɗɗerayaa** ‘tall ones’
kakappayaa ‘fat ones’
ɠaɠalla?ayaa ‘thin ones’

The nominal gender suffixes added to deadjectival individual entities can be used not only to refer to persons but also to other entities.

4.10.6. Deverbal action nouns

Deverbal action nouns are derived from verb roots by using various suffixes as illustrated below. The list of the suffixes is not exhaustive.

(79a) -anta (F)

hatanta	‘stealing’	hat-	‘to steal’
palanta	‘ripening’	pal-	‘to ripen’
keranta	‘ageing’	ker-	‘to be old’
ʃaranta	‘crack’	ʃar-	‘to crack’

(79b) -antaa (M)

χaʔantaa	‘flying’	χaʔad-	‘to fly’
ʁaʔantaa	‘standing’	ʁaʔad-	‘to stand’
hirantaa	‘running[PL]’	hir-	‘to run[PL]’

(79c) -oota (F)

ɗaloota	‘birth’	ɗal-	‘to give birth’
ʁaloota	‘slaughtering’	ʁal-	‘to slaughter’

(79d) -eeta (F)

ʁoteeta	‘digging’	ʁot-	‘to dig, farm’
piɗɗeeta	‘buying[SG]’	piɗɗ-	‘to buy[SG]’
ɗiipeeta	‘washing’	ɗiip-	‘to wash’

(79e) -naa (P)

ʁahnaa	‘fleeing’	ʁah-	‘to flee’
pahnaa	‘example’	pah-	‘to resemble’
ʔupnaa	‘knowledge’	ʔup-	‘to know’
sahnaa	‘capacity’	sah-	‘to be able to’

(79f) -a (M)

ɗeeχa	‘peace making’	ɗeeχ-	‘to make peace’
ɗiika	‘blood’	ɗiik-	‘to bleed’
χarʃa	‘beans’	χarʃ-	‘to cook beans’

(79g) -aa (P)

fataa	‘vomit’	fat-	‘to vomit’
ɗamaa	‘food’	ɗam-	‘to eat’

(79h) **-uta** (F)

noodɗuta	'bribe'	**noodɗ-**	'to push'
needɗuta	'hatred'	**needɗ-**	'to hate'
paakkuta	'span'	**paakk-**	'to measure with span'
puussuta	'writing, line'	**puuss-**	'to draw a line'
moossuta	'piece of bread'	**mooss-**	'to break (bread)'

4.11. Case

Konso has nominative–accusative case alignment. The core cases nominative and accusative are rarely distinguished, see 4.11.1. Genitive constructions are marked with a genitive particle following its head noun. Dative and Instrumental nouns are marked with a suffix. The dative suffix is homophonous with one of the locative suffixes, both consisting of a glottal stop. The other locative suffix is similar to the background suffix, both ending in **-yye**. When addressing people, a vocative ending can be used. These phenomena do not form a coherent system within the language but are discussed here under the heading Case.

4.11.1. The nominative and accusative cases

Proper names, pronouns and days of a week are marked for the nominative case with the suffix **-ʔ**. For example, the proper names **Kappoole** and **Apitto** occur in the subject positions as in (80a) and (80b), respectively. Both also occur unmarked in the object position as in (80b) and (80a), respectively. In (80c), the subject pronoun **ʔinu** 'we' occurs with the suffix **-ʔ**, and in (80d), the week day **palawwa** 'Saturday' occurs with the suffix **-ʔ**.

Nominative marking by glottal stop is limited to the above cases. Common nouns do not distinguish nominative and accusative case (except in cleft constructions, see below). The items that do show nominative marking have in common that they are inherently specific. In this respect, it is interesting to observe that demonstrative and definite suffixes end in a glottal stop while possessive suffixes do not.

(80a) **Kappooliʔ ʔapittu ʔiɠoʃʃay**
Kappooli-ʔ *Apittu* *i=ɠoff-ay*
Kappoole-NOM Apitto 3=pinch.SG-PF[3M]
'Kappoole pinched Apitto once.'

(80b) **Apittuk Kappooli iɠoʃʃay**
Apittu-ʔ *Kappooli* *i=ɠoff-ay*
Apitto-NOM Kappoole 3=pinch.SG-PF[3M]
'Apitto pinched Kappoole once.'

(80c) **inut toman pidɗini**

inu-ʔ	*toma=in*	*pidɗ-n-i*
1PL.PRO-NOM	bowl=1	buy[SG]-1PL-PF

'We bought a bowl.'

(80d) **palawwap partaane**

palawwa-ʔ	*partaane*
Saturday-NOM	day.after.tomorrow

'Saturday is the day after tomorrow.'

With regard to pronouns, only first person singular and second person singular make a lexical distinction for nominative and accusative cases: **anti** 'I' vs. **ana** 'me' and **atti** 'you (SG) and **ke** 'you (SG)' (see Chapter 5 for details of pronouns). All pronouns in the subject position are also marked for nominative by the suffix -ʔ. For example, the pronoun **anti** 'I' and **ke** 'you (SG)' in (81a) occur in the subject and object positions, respectively. Similarly, the pronouns **atti** 'you (SG)' and **ana** 'me' in (81b) occur in the subject and object positions, respectively.

(81a) **antik ke inɠoʃʃay**

anti-ʔ	*ke*	*in=ɠoʃʃ-ay*
1SG.PRO-NOM	2SG.PRO.ACC	1=pinch.SG-PF[3M]

'I pinched you (SG) once.'

(81b) **attiʔ ʔana iɠɠoʃʃiti**

atti-ʔ	*ana*	*iʔ=ɠoʃʃ-t-i*
2SG.PRO-NOM	1SG.PRO.ACC	2=pinch.SG-2-PF

'You (SG) pinched me once.'

Pronouns that do not make a lexical distinction for nominative and accusative are still marked by the suffix -ʔ for nominative as shown in (82).

(82a) **inuʔ ʔiʃoonna indaanni**

inu-ʔ	*iʃoonna*	*in=ɗaan-n-i*
1PL.PRO-NOM	3PL.PRO[ACC]	1=chase-1PL-PF

'We chased them.'

(82b) **iʃoonnaʔ ʔinu idaanni**

iʃoonna-ʔ	*inu*	*i=ɗaan-n-i*
3PL.PRO-NOM	1PL.PRO[ACC]	3=chase-3PL-PF

'They chased us.'

Tone is used to make the nominative and accusative case distinction in cleft sentences in such a way that the nominative case is marked by a low tone whereas the accusative case is marked by a high tone. For example, in (83a-b),

we have the nouns **harreeta** ‘donkey’ and **χorma** ‘ox, bull’. In both examples, **harreeta** ‘donkey’ precedes **χorma** ‘ox, bull’. The lengthened final vowel of the noun **harreeta** ‘donkey’ in (83a) has a low tone; final vowel lengthening is one of the characteristic features of clefting (as discussed in Section 3.5). In (83b), however, the lengthened final vowel of **harreeta** ‘donkey’ has a high tone which marks the accusative case.

(83a) **harreeta-a** **χorma** **ɗiit-ay**
donkey-CLF[NOM] ox kick[SG]-PF[3M]
‘It is a donkey that kicked an ox.’

(83b) **harreeta-á** **χorma** **ɗiit-ay**
donkey-CLF[ACC] ox kick[SG]-PF[3M]
‘It is a donkey that an ox kicked.’

Now, when we exchange the positions of the two nouns **harreeta** ‘donkey’ and **χorma** ‘ox, bull’ in (84a-b), we find that the final vowel of **χorma** ‘ox, bull’ is lengthened. Moreover, in (84a), the lengthened final vowel carries a low tone, thus, marking nominative case while in (84b), the lengthened final vowel carries a high tone, thus, marking an accusative case.

(84a) **χorma-a** **harreeta** **ɗiit-ay**
ox-CLF[NOM] donkey kick[SG]-PF[3M]
‘It is an ox that kicked a donkey.’

(84b) **χorma-á** **harreeta** **ɗiit-t-i**
ox-CLF[ACC] donkey kick[SG]-3F-PF
‘It is an ox that a donkey kicked.’

4.11.2. The genitive case

The genitive is expressed with the genitive particle **ʔa** for human possessors, and **ʔa…ʔ** for non-human possessors. The final syllable of the possessor has a high tone.

The distribution of the genitive suffixes in accordance with whether the possessor is human or non-human is clear from the example in (85a) the noun **loɠta** ‘leg’ is possessed by a human possessor **Kappoole** but by a non-human possessor **tulpeeta** ‘hippo’ in (85b). Similarly, in the examples in (85c), the noun **tika** ‘house’ is possessed by the human possessor **Anto** while the noun **napahta** ‘ear’ in (85d) is possessed by the non-human possessor **arpa** ‘elephant’. In (85e), the noun **taamta** ‘branch’ is possessed by the non-human possessor **ɠoyra** ‘tree’.

(85a) **locʕta a kappoolíʔ ʔakkiti**
locʕta *a* *kappoolí=iʔ* *akk-t-i*
leg GEN kappoole=2 see-2-PF
'You (SG) saw Kappoole's leg.'

(85b) **locʕta a tulpeetáʔiʔ ʔakkiti**
locʕta *a* *tulpeetá-ʔ=iʔ* *akk-t-i*
leg GEN hippo-GEN=2 see-2-PF
'You (SG) saw hippopotamus's leg.'

(85c) **tika a Antú i=palɗ-i**
house GEN Anto 3=be.wide-PF
'Anto's house is wide.'

(85d) **napahta a arpá-ʔ i=palɗ-i**
ear GEN elephant-GEN 3=wide-PF
'The ear of an elephant is wide.'

(85e) **inantasit taamta a ʕoyraʔ ʔimurti**
inanta-siʔ *taamta* *a* *ʕoyra-ʔ*
girl-DEF.M/F branch GEN tree-GEN

i=mur-t-i
3=cut[SG]-3F-PF
'The girl cut a branch of a tree.'

Proper names with a final **aa** also have ˊʔ in the genitive construction as in (86).

(86a) **okkatta a Oynaáˊʔ=in akk-ay**
cow GEN Oynaa-GEN=1 see-PF[3M]
'I saw Oynaa's cow.'

(86b) **iʃeennat tika a kaaɓaáˊʔ ʔiʔupta**
iʃeenna-ʔ *tika* *a* *kaaɓaáˊʔ*
3SGF.PRO-NOM house GEN kaaɓaa-GEN

i=up-t-a
3=know-IPF.FUT
'She knows Kaaɓaa's house.'

Nouns possessed by associative plural are expressed with the genitive particle followed by the associative particle **opa** and the name, as illustrated in (87).

(87a) **tika a opa kappoolí i=sek-i**
house GEN ASS kappoole 3=be.far-PF
'Kappoole (and his associate)'s house is far.'

(87b) **ɗila a opa kintilí i=palɗ-i**
field GEN ASS kintile 3=be.wide-PF
'Kintile (and his associate)'s field is wide.'

The genitive particle may occur after nouns with possessive suffixes, as illustrated below.

(88) **hellaa-nno a χonsú-ʔ i=ɗey-i-n**
children-1PL.POSS.P GEN Konso-GEN 3=come-PF-P
'Our Konso fellows came.'
(lit.: 'Children of our Konso came.')

In fast speech, the glottal stop that occurs at the end of the genitive construction is elided, resulting in a complete assimilation to the initial vowel of the possessor noun if the possessor begins with a (glottal stop plus) vowel as in (89a-b). If the possessor begins with another consonant, the affix may be elided as in (89c).

(89a) **χorma aantú ʔipoori**
χorma a Antú i=poor-i
ox GEN Anto 3=be.black-PF
'Anto's ox is black.'

(89b) **aannookkattáʔ ʔinʔikay**
aannaa a okkattá-ʔ in=ik-ay
milk GEN cow-GEN 1=drink-PF[3M]
'I drank cow milk.'

(89c) **hoofa karrattáʔ ʔinakkini**
hoofa a karrattá-ʔ in=akk-n-i
hole GEN squirrel-GEN 1=see-P-PF
'We saw a squirrel's hole.'

4.11.3. The dative case

The dative is marked with the suffix -ʔ. The dative suffix differs from the nominative suffix in that it is not limited to pronouns and names but also occurs on common nouns. The main role of the dative is to denote the beneficiary. The following are examples:

(90a) attiɕ ɕolpasiʔ ʔiʃaʔ ʔippiɗɗiti
atti-ʔ *ɕolpa-siʔ* *iʃa-ʔ*
2SG.PRO-NOM he-goat-DEF.M/F 3SGM.PRO-DAT

iʔ=piɗɗ-t-i
2=buy[SG]-2-PF
'You (SG) bought him a he-goat.'

(90b) inatasiʔ ʔanap piʃaa iɗaassi
inata-siʔ *ana-ʔ* *piʃaa* *i=ɗaaʃ-t-i*
girl-DEF.M/F 1SG.PRO.ACC-DAT water 3=give-3F-PF
'The girl gave me water.'

(90c) antin nama tokkaʔin χapaa piɗɗay
anti-ʔ *nama* *tokka-ʔ=in* *χapaa*
1SG.PRO-NOM person one.M-DAT=1 shoes

piɗɗ-ay
buy[SG]-PF[3M]
'I bought shoes for someone.'

(90d) tuparaasiniʔ ʔokkayaaʔe oha ohin
tuparaa-siniʔ *okkayaa-ʔ=i*
girls-DEF.P cows-DAT=3

oha *oh-i-n*
fodder cut.fodder-PF-P
'The girls cut fodder for the cows.'

First and second person beneficiaries are always marked with the dative suffix. However, it is possible for third person beneficiaries not to be marked. In this case, the dative suffix occurs at the end of the verb. This results in the final vowel of the verb having a high tone. For example, in (91a), there is no dative suffix, and as a result the final vowel of the verb occurs with a low tone. In (91b), there is a dative suffix at the end of the verb, and the preceding vowel has a high tone.

(91a) in=ɗaaʃ-a
1=give-IPF.FUT
'I will give (it).'

(91b) in=ɗaaʃ-á-ʔ
1=give-IPF.FUT-DAT
'I will give (it) for him/her/them.'

The example in (91b) can also be used to mean 'I will give (it) on behalf of him/her/them.'

4.11.4. The instrumental case

The instrumental case is marked by the suffix **-n(n)**. The suffix appears single before consonants (92a), and geminate before vowels (92b). It indicates that the noun it is added to is used as an instrument by an agent. For example, the nouns **faasita** 'pick axe' and **ulayta** 'stick' are used as instruments to accomplish the actions of cutting and hitting, respectively.

(92a) **attif faasitan ɠoyrasiʔ ʔimmurti**

atti-ʔ	*faasita-n*	*ɠoyra-siʔ*
2SG.PRO-NOM	pickaxe-INST	tree-DEF.M/F

iʔ=mur-t-i
2=cut-2-PF
'You (SG) cut the tree with a pickaxe.'

(92b) **antiʔ ʔulaytannin pinantasiɗ ɗayay**

anti-ʔ	*ulayta-nn=in*	*pinanta-siʔ*
1SG.PRO-NOM	stick-INST=3	animal-DEF.M/F

ɗay-ay
hit-PF[3M]
'I hit the animal with a stick.'

The instrumental suffix also indicates manner as in (93).

(93) **malannil lukkalittasiɠ ɠaptin**

mala-nn=iʔ	*lukkalitta-siʔ*	*ɠap-t-i-n*
wisdom-INST=2	chicken-DEF.M/F	catch-3F-PF-P

'You (PL) caught the chicken skillfully.'

4.11.5. The vocative case

The vocative is marked by the suffixes **-u/o** and **-y**. The former occurs with nouns that trigger M/F gender agreement on the verb, as in (94), and the latter with nouns that trigger a plural gender agreement on the verb, as in (95).

(94a) **namu, maanaʔ ʔaye koʔni**

nama-u	*maana=iʔ*	*aye*	*koɗ-ni*
man-VOC.M/F	what=2	here	do-IPF.PRES

'You guy, what are you doing here?'

(94b) **karru, okkattaayti ka χormaawu kulee ɗalay**
karraa-u, *okkatta-ayti* *ka*
squirrel-VOC.M/F cow-2SG.POSS.M/F and

χorma-awu *kuli=i* *ɗal-ay*
ox-1SG.POSS.M/F also=3 give.birth-PF[3M]
'Squirrel, your cow as well as my ox gave birth.'

(95a) **tuparraa-y** **χooy-a**
girls-VOC.P come-IMP.PL
'You girls, come!'

(95b) **ʔinnaa-y** **χooy-i**
boy-VOC.P come-IMP.SG
'You boy, come!'

In kinship terms, we may find the vocative suffixes **-u/o**, **-i/e** and **-a**. The distribution is lexically determined as can be seen from the following examples.

(96)

Vocative form		source	
aapp-u/o	'daddy!'	**aappaa**	'father'
okkooyy-u/o	'grandma!'	**okkooyyita**	'grandmother'
aayy-i/e	'mamma!'	**aayyaa**	'mother'
aatt-i/e	'elder sibling!'	**aattaa**	'elder sibling'
aakk-a	'grandpa!'	**aakkaa**	'grandfather'
maamm-a	'(paternal) aunt!'	**maammata**	'aunt'

Proper names with a final **-o** in the base form attach the vocative suffix **-u/o** as in (97a); those with a final **-e** attach the vocative **-e/i** as in (97b); those with a final **-a** attach the vocative suffix **-a** as in (97c).

(97a) **Antu/o** 'Anto!'
Katanu/o 'Katano!'
Paritu/o 'Parito!'

(97b) **Kappoole/i** 'Kappoole!'
Kanaase/i 'Kanaase!'

(97c) **χalaalla** 'χalaalla!'
Orkeeta 'Orkeeta!'

4.11.6. The locational markers -Vyye and -ʔ

The suffixes **-Vyye** and **-ʔ** mark location (see locational adverbs in 8.2.1). The **V** of **-Vyye** is the lengthening of the final vowel of the noun). The locational

marker -Vyye occurs mainly with the verb root kiy- ‘be, exist’ whereas -ʔ occurs with actions verbs such as χaay- ‘put’, ɗiiʃ- ‘leave’. The following are illustrative examples.

(98a) sakooyyaf faaʃeeyyee ca
sakooyya-ʔ *faaʃe-eyye=i* *kiy-a*
sakooyya-NOM faaʃe-LOC=3 be-IPF.FUT
‘Sakooyye is at Faaʃe.’

(98b) inantasit tomasit tikaʔ ʔiχaayti
inanta-siʔ *toma-siʔ* *tika-ʔ* *i=χaay-t-i*
girl-DEF.M/F bowl-DEF.M/F house-LOC 3=put-3F-PF
‘The girl put the bowl at home.’

The locational markers do not replace each other. This can be seen from the examples in (99), which are modified versions of the examples in (98).

(99a) *sakooyyaf faaʃiʔ ʔica
sakooyya-ʔ *faaʃe-ʔ* *i=kiy-a*
sakooyya-NOM faaʃe-LOC 3=be-PF.FUT
(intended: ‘Sakooyye is at Faaʃe.’)

(99b) *inantasit tomasit tikaayye iχaayti
inanta-siʔ *toma-siʔ* *tika-ayye* *i=χaay-t-i*
girl-DEF.M/F bowl-DEF.M/F house-LOC 3=put-3F-PF
(intended: ‘The girl put the bowl at home.’)

The locational suffixes differ with respect to optionality: It is possible to leave out -Vyye but not -ʔ. For example, in (100a), -Vyye occurs with the noun tika ‘house’ but it does not occur with the same noun in (100b). On the other hand, -ʔ is obligatory. To demonstrate this, example (100b) is repeated with and without the suffix in (100c) and (100d).

(100a) ɠimaytasit tikaayyee ca
ɠimayta-siʔ *tika-ayye=i* *kiy-a*
old man-DEF.M/F house-LOC=3 be-IPF.FUT
‘The old man is at home.’

(100b) ɠimaytasit tikaa ca
ɠimayta-siʔ *tika=i* *kiy-a*
old man-DEF.M/F house=3 be-IPF.FUT
‘The old man is at home.’

(100c) **inantasit tomasit tikaʔ ʔiχaayti**
inanta-siʔ *toma-siʔ* *tika-ʔ* *i=χaay-t-i*
girl-DEF.M/F bowl-DEF.M/F house-LOC 3=put-3F-PF
'The girl put the bowl at home.'

(100d) ***inantasit tomasit tika ʔiχaayti**
inanta-siʔ *toma-siʔ* *tika* *i=χaay-t-i*
girl-DEF.M/F bowl-DEF.M/F house 3=put-3F-PF
'The girl put the bowl at home.'

The locational suffix -Vyye can be used as ablative, as in the following examples:

(101a) **inantaasiχ χonsooyyee ɗeʔti**
inanta-asiʔ *χonso-eyye=i* *ɗey-t-i*
girl-DEM.M/F Konso-LOC=3 come-3F-PF
'This girl came from Konso.'

(101b) **urmalaayyeen laha piɗɗay**
urmalaa-eyye=in *laha* *piɗɗ-ay*
market-LOC=1 ram buy[SG]-PF[3M]
'I bought a ram from the market.'

4.11.7. The background marker

The background is marked by the suffixes -eyye or -yye. The former has an allomorph -e. The distribution is phonologically determined: nouns with a short terminal -a occur with -eyye or -e, and nouns with a terminal vowel -aa occur with -yye. The background marker has the meaning 'person-wise' or 'entity-wise'.

(102a) **iʃan nameeyye iɗeri**
iʃa-ʔ *nama-eyye* *i=ɗer-i*
3SG.PRO-NOM person-BKGRD.M/F 3=be.tall-PF
'Person-wise, he is tall.'

(102b) **ɠoyraasiɠ ɠoyre ɠoyra a kokay**
ɠoyra-asiʔ *ɠoyra-e* *ɠoyra* *a*
tree-DEM.M/F tree-BKGRD.M/F tree REL

kok-ay
dry-PF[3M]
'Tree-wise, this tree is dry.'
(lit.: 'Tree-wise, this tree is a tree which is dry.')

(102c) **filoosinif filaayye itiimi**
filaa-osini? *filaa-yye* *i=tiim-i*
comb-DEM.P comb-BKGRD.P 3=be.red-PF
'Comb-wise, this comb is red.'

(102d) **tikkaa-yye** **i=pap-palɗ-i**
houses-BKGRD.P 3=PL-be.wide-PF
'House-wise, they are wide.'

Deadjectival nominals that modifiy head nouns also occur with the background suffix **-eye** For instance, the deadjectival nominal **ɠalla?ayta** 'thin one' in (103a) occurs with the head noun **ɠoyra** 'tree' which, in the example, has the background suffix **-eye**. However, head nouns that have the definite suffix **-si?** do not allow deajectival nominals to occur with the background suffix, as shown in (103b). Similarly, deadjectival nominals do not occur with subject clitics, as illustrated in (103c).

(103a) **ɠoyreeyye ɠalla?ayta**
ɠoyra-eyye *ɠalla?-ayta*
tree-BKGRD.M/F be.thin-NMLZ.M
'Tree-wise, it is a thin one.'

(103b) ***ɠoyreeyyesiɠ ɠalla?ayta**
ɠoyra-eyye-si? *ɠalla?-ayta*
tree-BKGRD-DEF.M/F be.thin-NMLZ.M
(intended: 'Tree-wise, the tree is thin.')

(103c) ***iɠalla?ayta**
i=ɠalla?-ayta
3=be.thin-NMLZ.M
(intended: 'It is thin one.')

4.12. Compounding

Compounding is not really productive; I disagree with Daniel (2000) on this point. The following are the compound nouns I was able to find. Most of them have the genitive particle **a**. The words are compounds because, for example, the first two have reduced first parts which do not exist in this form independently. The rest of the compound words have a specialised, non-predictable meaning and thus are lexicalised.

(104a) **kurɗakkayta**
kurra + ɗakkayta
ear + deaf.M
tree species

(104b) **kuttimpira**
kuttumaa-pir-a
growth-finish-NMLZ
'molar tooth'

(104c) **ɗuusutakaarayyaáʔ**[9]
ɗuusuta-a-kaarayyaá-ʔ
fart-GEN-devil-GEN
mushroom species

(104d) **akalaparaʃʃaáʔ**
akala-a-paraʃʃaá-ʔ
sack-GEN-cereal.species-GEN
'centipede'

(104e) **χormawaaɠáʔ**
χorma-a-waaɠá-ʔ
ox-GEN-God-GEN
grasshopper species

(104f) **keraawaaɠáʔ**
keraa-a-waaɠá-ʔ
thief-GEN-God-GEN
'witchdoctor'

The above compound words may form their pluratives by replacing the singulative suffix with a plurative suffix, adding a plurative suffix in the end or to the initial part. The first compound forms its plurative by replacing the singulative suffix **-ta** with **-aa**. The the second three compound words form their pluratives by adding the plurative suffix **-ɗɗaa**. The last two compound words form their pluratives based on the pluratives of the first words. Notice that the final genitive marker **ʔ** in the singulatives appears after the plurative suffix. Below, I give the plurative of each of the above compound words to show that these words are one word and a noun.

	Singulative	plurative
(105a)	**kurɗakkayta**	**kurɗakkayaa**
	kurra + ɗakkayta	*kurra + ɗakkayaa*
	ear + deaf.M	ear + be.deaf.P
	tree species	tree species

[9] Also **ussukkaarayyaa**.

(105b)	**kuttimpira**	**kutimpiraɗɗaa**
	kuttumaa-pir-a	*kuttumaa-pir-a-ɗɗaa*
	growth-finish-NMLZ	growth-finish-NMLZ-P
	‘molar tooth’	‘molar teeth’
(105c)	**ɗuusutakaarayyaáʔ**	**ɗuusutakaariyyaɗɗaáʔ**
	ɗuusuta-ʔa-kaarayyaá-ʔ	*ɗuusuta-a-kaariyyaa-ɗɗaá-ʔ*
	fart-GEN-devil-GEN	fart-GEN-devil-P-GEN
	‘mushroom (species)’	‘mushrooms’
(104d)	**akalaparaʃʃaáʔ**	**akalaparaʃʃaɗɗaáʔ**
	akala-a-paraʃʃaá-ʔ	*akala-a-paraʃʃaɗɗaá-ʔ*
	sack-GEN-cereal.species-GEN	sack-GEN-cereal.species.P -GEN
	‘centipede’	‘centipedes’
(104e)	**χormawaaɕáʔ**	**χormaɗawaaɕáʔ**
	χorma-a-waaɕá-ʔ	*χormaɗaa-a-waaɕá-ʔ*
	ox-GEN-God-GEN	oxen-GEN-God-GEN
	‘grasshopper (species)’	‘grasshoppers’
(104f)	**keraawaaɕáʔ**	**kereʔtawaaɕáʔ**
	keraa-a-waaɕá-ʔ	*kereʔewwa-a-waaɕá-ʔ*
	thief-GEN-God-GEN	thieves-GEN-God-GEN
	‘witchdoctor’	‘witchdoctors’

5. Pronouns

In this chapter I discuss personal pronouns, demonstratives and possessives. I also treat reflexive and reciprocals. Personal pronouns distinguish number for all persons, but gender only for third person singular. With regard to case distinctions, it is only the first person singular and the second person singular pronouns that show a lexical distinction for nominative and accusative cases.

5.1. Personal pronouns

The following table presents the personal pronouns.

	Singular		Plural
	Nominative	Accusative	Nominative / Accusative
1	**anti**	**ana**	**inu**
2	**atti**	**ke**	**iʃina**
3F	**iʃeenna**		**iʃoonna**
	iʃeet(t)a		**iʃoot(t)a**
	iʃeed(ɗ)a		**iʃood(ɗ)a**
3M	**iʃa**		

Table 1: Independent personal pronouns

As can be seen from the table, it is only the first and second person singular pronouns that show a lexical distinction for nominative and accusative cases. In (1a), the personal pronoun **iʃa** 'he' and **ana** 'me' are marked for their respective cases morphologically and lexically. However, in (1b), the nominative case distinction with the personal pronouns **anti** 'I' is made morphologically while the accusative case for the personal pronoun **iʃa** 'him' is neither morphologically marked nor lexically expressed. It is understood only from the word order.

(1a) **iʃaʔ ʔana iʔakkay**

iʃa-ʔ	*ʔana*	*i=akk-ay*
3SGM.PRO-NOM	1SG.PRO.ACC	3=see-PF

'He saw me.'

(1b) **antiʔ ʔiʃa inʔakkay**

anti-ʔ	*iʃa*	*in=akk-ay*
1SG.PRO-NOM	3SGM.PRO[ACC]	1=see-PF[3M]

'I saw him.'

Second person plural accusative pronoun form occurs without a final vowel when it occurs as an object of a postposition as in (2a). Otherwise, it occurs with the final vowel as in (2b-c).

(2a) ɢolpasiʔ ʔiʃin kapa ica

ɢolpa-siʔ	*iʃin*	*kapa*
he-goat-DEF.M/F	2PL.PRO.ACC	near

i=kiy-a
3=be-IPF.FUT
'The he-goat is with you (PL).'

(2b) antil luukkawwaasinin iʃinaɗ ɗaɗɗaaʃay

anti-ʔ	*luukkawwaa-siniʔ=in*
1SG.PRO-NOM	fruits-DEF.P=1

iʃina-ʔ	*ɗaɗ-ɗaaʃ-ay*
2PL.PRO.ACC-DAT	PL-give-PF[3M]

'I gave you (PL) the fruits.'

(2c) iʃinaa tikupa kalay

iʃina-á	*tika-opa*	*kal-ay*
2PL.PRO-CLF[ACC]	house-to	return.home-PF[3M]

'It is you (PL) who returned home.'

The alternants for third person feminine and third person plural pronoun forms differ only in the vowels in the second syllable. Except with the nasal consonant, which is always geminate, the forms of these pronouns can occur in free variant forms: with a single or geminate final consonant.

Personal pronouns can be used not only for humans but also for non-human entities agreeing in gender to the gender of the noun they refer to.

5.2. Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns are sedîʔ and seniʔ. The former is used with nouns that trigger an M/F gender agreement on the verb, whereas the latter is used with nouns that trigger a P gender agreement on the verb. Like the demonstrative suffixes (see 4.8), the demonstrative pronouns express proximity. No distal distinction is made. Here are some examples:

(3a) sedîɢ ɢoyra

sedîʔ	*ɢoyra*
this.M/F	tree[M]

'This is a tree.'

(3b) sedît tikaayti

sedîʔ	*tika-ayti*
this.M/F	house[F]-2SG.POSS.M/F

'This is your house.'

(3c) **senif filaayyu**
seni? *filaa-yyu*
this comb[P]-1SG.POSS.P
'This is my comb.'

(3d) **seniɢ ɢoraa**
seni? *ɢoraa*
these trees.P
'These are trees.'

The word **ini?** 'this one' is used as demonstrative pronoun as well. It is used with nouns that are semantically singular and may trigger a masculine or feminine gender agreement on the verb.

(4a) **init tikaawu**
ini? *tika-awu*
this.M/F house-1SG.POSS.M/F
'This is my house.'

(4b) **inim maakaa**
ini? *maakaa*
this.M/F snake[M]
'This is a snake.'

It is interesting to see that some numerically singular nouns which trigger a plural gender agreement occur with **ini?**, and some do not. For example, the nouns **filaa** 'comb[P]' and **innaa** 'child [P]' trigger plural gender agreement in possessives. However, the nouns show a difference in their distribution with regard to the demonstrative pronoun **ini?**: **innaa** 'child[P]' does occur with **ini?**, as in (5a), whereas **filaa** 'comb[P]' does not (5b).

(5a) **ini? ʔinnaayyu**
ini? *innaa-yyu*
this.M/F child[P]-1SG.POSS.P
'This is my child.'

(5b) ***inif filaayyu**
ini? *filaa-yyu*
this.M/F comb[P]-1SG.POSS.P
(intended: 'This is my comb.')

There is also the demonstrative pronoun **ossini?** 'this thing' which is used with reference to (non-)animate entities as illustrated in (6).

(6a) **ossinim maana**
ossini? *maana*
this.thing what
'What is this thing?'

(6b) **ossini? ʔineeɕ-i**
ossini? *i=neeɕ-i*
this.thing 3=be.bad-PF
'This thing is bad.'

The glottal stop of the demonstrative pronouns may be elided in fast utterances. This can be seen from the examples in (7).

(7a) **sedi tikaayti**
sedi *tika-ayti*
this.M/F house[F]-2SG.POSS.M/F
'This is your house.'

(7b) **ini maakaa**
ini *maakaa*
this.M/F snake[M]
'This is a snake.'

(7c) **ossinineeɕ-i**
ossini *i=neeɕ-i*
this.thing 3=be.bad-PF
'This thing is bad.'

The glottal stop is not elided from **ossini?** 'this thing' with such question words as **meeɕaa** 'how much?' (8a) and **maana** 'what?' (8b). It is elided with the question word **ayʃa** 'where?', as shown in (8c).

(8a) ***ossini** **meeɕaa**
this.thing how.much
(intended: 'How much is this thing?')

(8b) ***ossini** **maana**
this.thing what
(intended: 'What is this thing?')

(8c) **ossini ayʃaʔidʑakayti**
ossini *ʔayʃa-ʔ=iʔ* *dʑakay-t-i*
this.thing where-LOC=2 hear-2-PF
'Where did you hear this thing from?'

Distal location is expressed by a locative adverb (see Section 8.2.1), the existential verb and a demonstrative pronoun as can be seen from the following examples:

(9a) **sedid disee co ʕoyraawu**
sedi? *dise=i* *kiy-o* *ʕoyra-awu*
this.DEM.M/F there=3 be-3M tree-1SG.POSS.M/F
'That is my tree.'
(lit: 'This tree there is my tree.')

(9b) **seniχ χatee caaʕ ʕoraayyu**
seni? *χate=i* *kiy-aa?* *ʕoraa-yyu*
these down=3 be-P trees-1SG.POSS.P
'Those are my trees.'
(lit: 'These trees down there are my trees.')

5.3. Possessives

Possessives may be marked by suffixes or independent pronouns. I first present possessive suffixes. Except for the third person singular, all possessive suffixes that occur with nouns not only distinguish the number of the possessor but also the gender of the possessum. The third person singular has the same possessive suffix for all (F/M/P, S/PL) possessums. Table 2 presents the possessive suffixes.

Possessor	Possessum (M/F)	Possessum (P)
1SG	-awu	-yyu
1PL	-aynu	-nnu
2SG	-ayti	-tti
2PL	-ayʃin	-ssin
3SG.M/F	-adi	-adi
3PL	-ayʃu?	-ssu?

Table 2: Possessive suffixes

In the following examples, the nouns **tika** 'house', **karkaa** 'beehive' and **orra** 'people' in (10) occur with M/F possessum suffixes because of the M/F gender agreement on the verb. On the other hand, the nouns **tikkaa** 'houses', **filaa** 'comb' and **piʃaa** 'water' in (11) occur with plural possessum suffixes because of the plural gender agreement on the verb.

(10a) **tika-awu** **i=sek-i**
house-1SG.POSS.M/F 3=be.far-PF
'My house is far (from here).'

(10b) **karkaaayʃuʔ ʔipatay**
karkaa-ayʃuʔ *i=pat-ay*
beehive-3PL.POSS.M/F 3=get.lost-PF[3M]
'Their beehive got lost.'

(10c) **ʔorra-ayʃin** **i=ɗey-ay**
people-2PL.POSS.M/F 3=come-PF[3M]
'Your (PL) people came.'

(11a) **tikkaa-nnu** **i=lek-i**
houses-1PL.POSS.P 3=be.many-PF
'Our houses are numerous.'

(11b) **filaa-tti** **i=ŋapal-i-n**
comb-2SG.POSS.P 3=be.spoiled-PF-P
'Your (S) comb got spoiled.'

(11c) **piʃaassuʔ ʔituɠmadin**
piʃaa-ssuʔ *i=tuɠ-am-ad-i-n*
water-3PL.POSS.P 3=spill-PAS-MID-PF-P
'Their water got spilt.'

Kinship terms such as **aappaa** 'father', **aayyaa** 'mother', **aakkaa** 'grandfather', **maammata** 'paternal aunt', **okkooyyita** 'grandmother' and **apuyyaata** 'maternal uncle' are used with plural possessive suffixes even when used by an only child. It indicates a relation that cannot be possessed individually. Table 3 contains the suffixes used with kinship terms.

Noun	Possessive suffixes added to the noun to indicate person and number distinction of the possessor		
	1 person	2 person	3 person
aappaa	**-aynu**	**-ayʃin**	**-ayʃuʔ**
aayyaa	**-nnu**	**-ssin**	**-ssuʔ**
aattaa	**-nnu**	**-ssin**	**-ssuʔ**
maammata	**-aynu**	**-ayʃin**	**-ayʃuʔ**
aakkaa	**-aynu**	**-ayʃin**	**-ayʃuʔ**
okkooyyita	**-aynu**	**-ayʃin**	**-ayʃuʔ**
appuyyaata	**-aynu**	**-ayʃin**	**-ayʃuʔ**

Table 3: Possessive suffixes with kinship terms

Kinship terms such as **aʃuma** 'sister's/(grand)aunt's son', **aʃumta** 'sister's/(grand)aunt's daughter', **oopaa** 'grandson' and **oopta** 'granddaughter' need not have plural possessive suffixes . Examples:

(12a) **oopaa-wu** **i=ɗey-ay**
grandson-1SG.POSS.M/F 3=come-PF[3M]
'My grandson came.'

(12b) **ooptaawu iɗeʔti**
oopta-awu *i=ɗey-t-i*
granddaughter-1SG.POSS.M/F 3=come-3F-PF
'My granddaughter came.'

Interestingly, the term **aappaa** may mean 'father' or 'husband' depending on the type of possessive suffix added to it. When it occurs with suffix **-aynu** it refers to father: **aappaaynu** 'our father'. However, with suffix **-wu**, it means 'husband': **aappaawu** 'my husband'.

Independent possessive pronouns are formed from the noun space filler **χa** and the possessive suffixes. The noun space filler **χa** does not have any meaning. It just replaces the noun. In my dialect, not all the possessive suffixes I presented above may occur with **χa** as can be seen from the following table. First person singular, the second persons and the third person plural possessors have variant forms that do not occur with nouns. The pronouns indicate number distinction in the possessor but not in the possessum.

1SG	**χayyu/χayya/*χawu**	'mine'	
1PL	**χannu/*χaynu**		'ours'
2SG	**χaayti/χatti**		'yours'
2PL	**χaayʃin/χassin/χaʃʃin**	'yours'	
3SG.M/F	**χaaɗi**		'his/hers'
3PL	**χaayʃu/χassu/χaʃʃu**		'theirs'

Table 4: Independent possessives

The unacceptable forms in table 4 are acceptable in χolme and in some parts of Faaʃe dialects.

Table 4 shows that independent possessives do not distinguish the gender of the possessum. As the examples in (13) illustrate, independent possessives like **χayyu** 'mine' in (13c) may have a singular possessor interpretation like 'It is mine' or a plural possessor interpretation like 'They are mine' based on whether the possessum is singular as in (13a) or plural as in (13b).

(13a) **init tika a aynu**
ini? *tika* *a* *aynu*
this house GEN who
'Whose house is this?'

(13b) **senit tikkaa a aynu**
seni? tikkaa a aynu
these houses GEN who
'Whose houses are these?'

(13c) **χayyu**
1SG.POSS.SG/PL
'It's mine/They are mine.'

5.4. Reflexive

Reflexive anaphoric reference is expressed by **isi** 'self'. It has the variant **?issi** when followed by dative or instrumental suffixes. Sometimes, the body part **harka** 'hand' may also be used to express reflexive. The reflexive pronoun **isi** is not inflected for number, gender or person. In a clause, the reflexive pronoun follows the subject as shown in (14).

(14a) **anti? ?isin ʃaʕay**
anti-? *isi* *in=ʃaʕ-ay*
1SG.PRO-NOM self 1=wash-PF[3M]
'I washed myself.'

(14b) **raakasi? ?isi imurti**
raaka-si? *isi* *i=mur-t-i*
old.woman-DEF.M/F self 3=cut[SG]-3F-PF
'The old woman cut herself.'

(14c) **keltaytasim mattuppa isi iχooʃʃay**
keltayta-si? *matta-oppa* *isi*
baboon-DEF.M/F head-in self

i=χooʃʃ-ay
3=scratch.SG-PF[3M]
'The baboon scratched itself on the head once.'

In the following examples, the reflexive pronoun has the form **issi** because there is the dative in (15a) and instrumental in (15b).

(15a) **issip pidd̪i**
issi-? *pidd̪-i*
self-DAT buy[SG]-IMP.SG
'Buy it for yourself.'

(15b) **issi-n** **χooy-i**
self-INST come-IMP.SG
'Come by yourself!'

With the verb roots **up-** ‘to know’ and **ɗakay-** ‘to hear’ and the postposition **ɠara** ‘on’, the reflexive pronoun **ʔisi** yields the meaning of ‘self-consciousness’. It is mainly used in negative sentences to express that someone is deeply asleep or seriously sick and unconscious of themselves. The examples in (16) may have either interpretation depending on the discourse setting.

(16a) **isɠara inuptu**
isi-ɠara *in=up-t-u*
self-on 3NEG=know-3F-NEG
‘She is unconscious.’
(lit.: ‘She does not know on herself.’)

(16b) **isɠara ɗakayin co**
isi-ɠara *ɗakay=in* *kiy-o*
self-on hear=3NEG be-NEG
‘He is unconscious.’
(lit.: ‘He does not hear on himself.’)

With the verb root **ʃaɠ-** ‘to wash’, such nouns as **piʃaa** ‘water’ and **ɗakinta** ‘body’ may be used instead of the reflexive pronoun **ʔisi**. The use of these nouns, however, requires the verb to contain the middle suffix as can be observed from the examples in (17).

(17a) **piʃaan ʃaɠanni**
piʃaa=in *ʃaɠ-aɗ-n-i*
water=1 wash-MID-1PL-PF
‘We washed ourselves.’
(lit.: ‘We washed water (for our benefit).’)

(17b) **attiʔ ɗakintaʃ ʃaɠatti**
atti-ʔ *ɗakinta=iʔ* *ʃaɠ-aɗ-t-i*
2SG.PRO-NOM body=2 wash-MID-2-PF
‘You (SG) washed yourself.’
(lit.: ‘You (SG) washed your body.’)

The reflexive pronoun and the middle suffix **-aɗ** do not co-occur in a sentence as shown in (18).

(18a) ***antiʔ ʔisin ʃaɠaɗay**
anti-ʔ *isi=in* *ʃaɠ-aɗ-ay*
1SG.PRO-NOM self=1 wash-MID-PF[3M]
(intended: ‘I washed myself for my benefit.’)

(18b) ***iʃeennaʔ ʔisi iʃacʿatti**
iʃeenna-ʔ *isi* *i=ʃacʿ-ad-t-i*
3SGF.PRO-NOM self 3=wash-MID-3F-PF
(intended: 'She washed herself for her benefit.')

In addition to the reflexive pronoun **isi**, the body parts **matta** 'head' and **harka** 'hand' may be used to express reflexivity. The body part **matta** occurs with possessive suffixes and the dative. This is illustrated in (19).

(19) **namasim mattaadiʔ ʔurmalaapa ʔiʔaanay**
nama-siʔ *matta-adi-ʔ* *urmalaa-opa*
person-DEF.M/F head-3SG.POSS.M/F-DAT market-to

i=aan-ay
3=go-PF[3M]
'The man went to the market for himself.'
(lit.: 'The man went to the market for his head.')

The use of the body part **harka** 'hand' to express reflexive meaning is contextually limited. It is used when someone takes a risk to do something and it yields a negative consequence. The instrumental suffix and the verb **kodʿ-** 'to do, work' are required in using **harka** to express reflexive. Examples:

(20a) **harkanne kodʿadʿay**
harka-nn=i *kodʿ-ad-ay*
hand-INST=3 do-MID-PF[3M]
'He caused the trouble for himself.'
(lit.: 'He made it with his hand for himself.')

(20b) **harkanne kodʿatti**
harka-nn=i *kodʿ-ad-t-i*
hand-INST=3 do-MID-3F-PF
'She caused the trouble for herself.'
(lit.: 'She made it with her hand.')

5.5. Reciprocity and 'each'

Reciprocity is expressed by the pronoun **oli**. The following are illustrative examples.

(21a) **olin upna**
oli=in *up-n-a*
RECP=1 know-P-IPF.FUT
'We know each other.'

(21b) **hellaasiniχ χalaa ʔoli ɠidin**

hellaa-sini?	*χala=i*	*ʔoli*	*ɠid-i-n*
children-DEF.P	yesterday=3	RECP	beat-PF-P

'The children beat each other yesterday.'

The reciprocal pronoun **oli** has the variant **olli** when followed by the dative (22a) or instrumental suffix (22b).

(22a) **harka lakkee ollip piʃaa ʃaɠin**

harka	*lakki=i*	*olli-ʔ*	*piʃaa*	*ʃaɠ-i-n*
hand	two=3	RECP-DAT	water	wash-PF-P

'Two hands wash each other.'
(lit.: Two hands wash water for each other.)

(22b) **inuʔ ʔollinnin ɗiluppupa sookanni**

inu-ʔ	*olli-nn=in*	*ɗila-oppupa*
1PL.PRO-NOM	RECP-INST=1	field-into

sookaɗ-n-i
go.to field-1P-PF

'We went to the field together.'
(lit.: We went to the field with each other.)

The example in (22a) is a proverb. It is used to express the situation where someone offers help to someone else who has offered them help before.

The reciprocal is expressed by the pronoun **oli** and the (locative–directional) compound **minaaɗesa** (**minaa** 'in front of' **ɗesa** 'toward (facing)') when many participants are involved in the reciprocal action and when there is no one-to-one relationship among the actors in the event. The following is an illustrative example.

(23) **orrasim minaaɗesaa oli ɠiday**

orra-si?	*minaaɗesa=i*	*oli*	*ɠid-ay*
people-DEF.M/F	toward=3	RECP	beat-PF[3M]

'The people beat one another.'

Notice the number agreement between the subject and the verb root. Sentences with the reciprocal pronoun require plural subjects and plural verb roots. For example, in sentence (24a) the reciprocal subject **harreewwaasini?** 'the donkeys' occurs with a corresponding plural verb root **ɠom-** 'bite[PL]'. Sentence (24b) is unacceptable because of the incongruence between the plural subject and the singulative verb root **ɠaniin-** 'to bite[SG].

(24a) harreewwaasini? ʔolee ʕomin
harreewwaa-sini? *oli=i* *ʕom-i-n*
donkeys-DEF.P RECP=3 bite[PL]-PF-P
'The donkeys bit each other.'

(24b) *harreewwaasini? ʔolee ʕaniinin
harreewwaa-sini? *oli=i* *ʕaniin-i-n*
donkeys-DEF.P RECP=3 bite[SG]-PF-P

Finally, 'each (of)' is expressed by **matta matta** 'head head' followed by the instrumental suffix **-n(n)**. This is demonstrated below.

(25) hellaasinim matta mattannee χoraɗin
hellaa-sini? *matta* *matta-nn=i* *χoraɗ-i-n*
children-DEF.P head head-INST=3 be.fined-PF-P
'Each of the children was fined.'

6. Verbs

In this chapter verbal derivations such as the causative, middle, passive, inchoative, pluractionals and punctuals are discussed. I also present verb inflections including the perfective and imperfective aspects. The last section treats imperative and optative mood.

As we shall see in detail below, when a verb form contains both derivational and inflectional affixes, they occur in the following order: Verb root-derivational suffix-inflectional suffix

6.1. Verb derivation

6.1.1. Causative

Causative derivation is productive and applies to transitive as well as intransitive verb roots. The forms of the causative are -ʃ, -**acciis**, and -(**n**)**ay**ʃ/-(**n**)**a**ʃ. The causative suffix -**acciis** underlyingly has the frozen middle suffix -**ad** (see also Mous 2004). However, it is not clear whether the part of the suffix after the frozen middle is **siis** or **ciis**. In this work, I do not commit myself to accounting for the underlying form and hence use only -**acciis**.

The causative suffix -ʃ marks direct causative in verbs. The causative forms -(**n**)**ay**ʃ/-(**n**)**a**ʃ also mark direct causative in certain adjectival roots. The causative form -**acciis** marks indirect causative. Indirect causative is also occasionally marked by the suffix -**siis**.

In the direct causatives, we may have only two participants: the subject which can be agentive or non-agentive causes the action, and the object is the affected entity as illustrated below:

(1a) **namasiɕ ɕoyrasiʔ ʔiɕɕepʃay**
nama-siʔ *ɕoyra* *i=ɕɕep-ʃ-ay*
man-DEF.M/F tree 3=be.broken-DCAUS-PF[3M]
'The man broke a tree.'

(1b) **roopasiʔ ʔunta iɲapalʃay**
roopa-siʔ *unta* *i=ɲapal-ʃ-ay*
rain-DEF.M/F crop 3=be.destroyed-DCAUS-PF[3M]
'The rain destroyed crops.'

In the above examples, the direct causative suffix -ʃ is added to the verb roots **ɕep**- 'to be broken' and **ɲapal**- 'to be destroyed'. In (1a), the subject **namasiʔ** 'the man' is an agent causing the action of breaking to affect the object **ɕoyra**

'tree'. Likewise, in (1b), the subject **roopasi?** 'the rain' is non-agentive causing the action of destroying the object **ʔunta** 'crops'.

A direct causative may have three participants: the causer, the causee and the affected entity. For example, in (2), the subject **Apitto** is the causer, the object **hellaasini?** 'the children' is the causee and **muusita** 'banana' is the affected entity.

(2) **Apittuh hellaasinim muusita iɗamʃay**

Apittu-ʔ	*hellaa-sini?*	*muusita*
Apitto-NOM	children-DEF.P	banana

i=ɗam-ʃ-ay
3=eat-DCAUS-PF[3M]
'Apitto fed the children banana.'

As mentioned earlier, causatives may be derived from intransitive verb roots such as **muk-** 'to sleep' in (3a) and **kal-** 'to go home' in (3b).

(3a) **inantasi? ʔinnaasini? ʔimukissi**

inanta-si?	*innaa-sini?*	*i=muk-ʃ-t-i*
girl-DEF.M/F	child-DEF.P	3=sleep-DCAUS-3F-PF

'The girl made the child sleep.'

(3b) **hellaasini? talaasini? ʔikalʃin**

hellaa-sini?	*talaa-sini?*	*i=kal-ʃ-i-n*
children-DEF.P	goats-DEF.P	3=return.home-DCAUS-PF-P

'The children brought the goats home.'

In the above examples, the intransitive verb roots occur with the direct causative suffix **-ʃ**.

Mous (2004, 4-5) analyses the form of the causative as **-iʃ** after the alveolar consonants **t**[10], **ɗ** and **s** and the palatal consonants **ʃ**, **c** and **ɟ** as in (4a).

	base		causative
(4a)	**waaɗ-**	'to hurry'	**waaɗ-iʃ-**
	pas-	'to loose'	**pas-iʃ-**

[10] There are also cases where the **t** of the verb root becomes **ʃ** when the causative **-ʃ** is added to the verb root. The following are examples:

fat-	'to vomit'	**faʃʃ-**	'to cause to vomit'
pat-	'to disappear'	**paʃʃ-**	'to destroy; lose'
ɕit-	'to collapse'	**ɕiʃʃ-**	'to cause to collapse'

However, not all verb roots with t and ʃ form the causative with -iʃ. Rather, they are formed by the suffix -acciis (4b) or using a syntactic causative construction as in the case of the verb aʃaʃ- 'to order' discussed below.

	base		causative	causative
(4b)	ɗot-	'to stab'	*ɗot-iʃ-	ɗotacciis
	ɗaaʃ-	'to give'	*ɗaaʃ-iʃ-	ɗaaʃacciis
	aʃaʃ-	'to order'	*aʃaʃ-iʃ-	(syntactic causative)

As Mous (2004) showed, with some verb roots that end in h, e.g. sah- 'sweep', peeh- 'to scatter', mooh- 'to have more', poh- 'to collect', only the indirect causative form can be used to derive the causative. However, in other verbs ending in h the causative with -ʃ rathter than -Vʃ is preferred. Examples:

	base		causative
(5)	ɠah-	'to flee, run away'	ɠahʃ-
	nah-	'to be good hearted'	nahʃ-
	miih-	'to be spoilt'	miihʃ-

Some verb stems with frozen middle suffix have t before the causative -ʃ. The i vowel before the causative suffix is an epenthetic vowel. Here are some examples:

	base		causative	
(6a)	ɠap-	'to catch'	ɠaptiʃ-	'to make catch (snare)'
	kam-	'to be stubborn'	kamtiʃ-	'to force to do something'
	ɗap-	'to miss'	ɗaptiʃ-	'to make miss'
(6b)	kafaɗ-	'to be tired'	kafti-	'to make tired'
	χoraɗ-	'to be fined'	χortiʃ-	'to make fined'

With the verb root piifaɗ- 'to have lunch' the causative marker can be either -ʃ or -tiʃ, i.e. piifʃ- or piiftiʃ- 'to make eat lunch'.

The form of the direct causative with certain adjectival roots is -ayʃ as in (7a), and -nayʃ with other adjectival roots as in (7b). It is difficult to formulate rules for the distribution of the forms.

(7a)	awl-ayʃ-	'to make yellow'	
	ɗer-ayʃ-	'to make tall, long'	
	lek-ayʃ-	'to make many'	
	ɗeh-ayʃ-	'to make near'	
	sek-ayʃ-	'to make far'	
	att-ayʃ-	'to make white'	<ʔat-t- >
	nukkull-ayʃ-	'to make weak, soft'	

	kumma?-ayʃ-	'to make short'	
	ʃolla?-ayʃ-	'to make light'	
(7b)	poor-nayʃ-	'to make black'	
	tiip-nayʃ-	'to make red'	
	ilaaw-nayʃ-	'to make green'	
	ʕah-nayʃ-	'to make thin'	<ʕaah- 'to be thin'>
	kokkon-nayʃ-	'to make strong'	<kokkook- 'to be strong'>
	paʕaar-nayʃ-	'to make good, beautiful'	
	neeʕ-nayʃ-	'to make bad, ugly'	

The following are sentential examples:

(8a) namasiχ χalittasi? ?ikummaayʃay

nama-si?	*χalitta-si?*	*i=kumma?-ayʃ-ay*
man-DEF.M/F	stick.DEF.M/F	3=be.short-DCAUS-PF[3M]

'The man shortened a stick.'

(8b) roopasip piita i?ilaawnayʃay

roopa-si?	*piita*	*i=?ilaaw-nayʃ-ay*
rain-DEF.M/F	land	3=be.green-DCAUS-PF[3M]

'The rain made the land green.'

(8c) tikasip paʕaarnassi

tika-si?=i?	*paʕaar-naʃ-t-i*
house-DEF.M/F=2	be.good-DCAUS-3F-PF

'You (SG) made the house look good.'

(8d) napasi? ?oktaasi? ?ipoornani

napa-si?	*oktaa-si?*	*i=poor-naʃ-ni*
soot-DEF.M/F	pot-DEF.M/F	3=be.black-DCAUS-IPF.PRES

'The soot blackens the pot.'

As already mentioned, the indirect causative is marked by -acciis. In indirect causatives, the subject of the sentence is not directly involved in performing the action, and hence, has no direct control over the action. The subject lets someone/something else do the action (see also Mous 2004). Many transitive verb roots attach the indirect causative form rather than the direct causative form. The following are illustrative sentences:

(9a) antin namasin ɗilasiʕ ʕotacciisay

anti-?	*nama-si?=in*	*ɗila-si?*
1SG.PRO-NOM	person-DEF.M/F=1	field-DEF.M/F

ɠot-acciis-ay
dig-ICAUS-PF[3M]
'I made the person work on the field.'

(9b) **antuɠ ɠoyrasiʔ ʔimuracciisay**
antu-ʔ *ɠoyra-siʔ* *i=mur-acciis-ay*
ʔanto-NOM tree-DEF.M/F 3=cut[SG]-ICUAS-PF[3M]
'ʔanto had the tree cut.'

In example (9a), we find three explicit participants: the indirect causer of the action of working on the field **anti** 'I' which is the subject, and the direct agent **namasʔi** 'the person', which is an object, and the affected entity **ɗila** 'field' which is also an object. In (9b), we only find two explicit participants: the indirect causer **Anto** which is the subject, and the affected entity **ɠoyrasiʔ** 'the tree'.

Mous (2004: 9-13) reports the indirect causative marker **-siis**. However, this morpheme is very rare, used for example in deriving **ɠap-siis** 'to make hold, make catch someone (say, a thief)' from **ɠap-** 'to hold, catch'. In contrast, the verb root **muk-** 'to sleep' in (10) requires only a direct causative form **ʃ** as in (10b).

(10a) ? **ɗinoote innaa muk-siis-ay**
ɗinoote boy sleep-ICAUS1-PF[3M]
'ɗinoote made a boy sleep by using a sleeping pill.'

(10b) **ɗinoote innaa muk-ʃ-ay**
ɗinoote boy sleep-DCAUS1-PF[3M]
'ɗinoote made a boy sleep by using a sleeping pill.'

Indirect causative is also expressed by the verb **kod-** 'to make' and a subordinate clause which contains the action done by the direct actor. Mous (2004: 2) calls this a syntactic indirect causative construction. The construction involves three participants: the causer, the causee and the affected entity as shown in (11a). Moreover, the verb **kod-** may attach the indirect causative **-acciis** as in (11b).

(11a) **ʔakkaa ɗam-t-u i=kod-ay**
that.3 eat-3F-DP.IPF 3=make-PF[3M]
'He made her eat (something).'

(11b) **akkaa ɗamtu ikodacciisay**
akkaa *ɗam-t-u* *i=kod-acciis-ay*
that.3 eat-3F-DP.IPF 3=make-ICAUS-PF[3M]
'He let someone make her eat (something).'

Causerless or impersonal causatives exist but they are fixed expressions in that they are based only on the verb stem **parpaacciis-** 'make want, need'. The verb stem **parpaacciis** is derived from the Oromo verb root **barbaad-** 'look for' and the causative suffix **-ciis**. The verb stem **parpaacciis-** is a transitive verb stem but it does not add an external causer. In other words, the constructions are without an explicit causer. Moreover, they always occur in the order Patient—Agent and the agent is human. Only the present imperfective aspect is allowed in causerless causatives. The examples in (12a) and (12b) are without overtly stated causers. In these examples, neither **kaasa** 'gun' nor **okkatta** 'cow' is an agent. Both **kaasa** 'gun' and **okkatta** 'cow' are patients and **ana** 'me' and **ke** 'you (SG)' are the causee.

(12a) **kaasaa ana parpaacciisni**
kaasa-a *ana* *parpaadʕiis-ni*
gun-CLF 1SG.PRO.ACC make.need-IPF.PRES
'I need a gun.'
(lit.: 'It makes me need a gun.')

(12b) **okkattaa ki parpaaccisni**
okkatta-a *ki* *parpaadʕiis-ni*
cow-CLF 2SG.PRO.ACC make.need-IPF.PRES
'You (SG) need a cow.'
(lit.: 'It makes you (SG) need a cow.')

The dative suffix may occur in the above constructions as shown in (13).

(13) **kaasa anap parpaacciisni**
kaasa *ana-ʔ* *parpaadʕiis-ni*
gun 1SG.PRO.ACC-DAT make.need-IPF.PRES
'A gun is needed for me.'

Tolemariam (2009) also reports causerless causatives for Oromo. The following (adapted) illustrative examples are taken from his work (2009:17).

(14a) **ibsaa** **isa** **barbaacc-is-a**
light.ABS him.ABS look.for -CAUS1-3M.IMPF
'He needs light.'
(lit.: 'It makes him look for light.')

(14b) **inni** **isaan** **ibsaa** **barbaacc-is-e**
he.NOM him.INST light.ABS look.for-CAUS1-3M.PF
'He made him look for light.'

6.1.2. Middle

The middle derivation is marked by the suffix -adˀ. The most productive meaning of the middle derivation is to render the verb auto-benefactive, that is, the action is done for one's own benefit. In (15a), for example, the subject namasiʔ 'the man' does the cutting for his benefit. Likewise, in (15b), the subject parkasiʔ 'the workteam' does the slaughtering for the benefit of its members. The middle has a wider semantic range of functions (see Mous 2004).

(15a) namasiʕ ʕoyrasiʔ ʔimuradˀay
nama-siʔ *ʕoyra-siʔ* *i=mur-adˀ-ay*
person-DEF.M/F tree-DEF.M/F 3=cut[SG]-MID-PF[3M]
'The man cut the tree for himself.'

(15b) parkasiχ χormasiʔ ʔiʕaladˀay
parka-siʔ *χorma-siʔ* *i=ʕal-adˀ-ay*
workteam-DEF.M/F ox-DEF.M/F 3=slaughter-MID-PF[3M]
'The work team slaughtered the ox for themselves.'

The verb roots mur- 'cut[SG]'and ʕal- 'to slaughter' with which the middle derivation suffix occurs in the above examples are transitive.

There are many verb stems with the frozen middle suffix. The following are illustrative examples.

(16) kolladˀ- 'to learn'
ʃaaladˀ- 'to choose, love'
ampadˀ- 'to babysit'
kaassadˀ- 'to ask'
ʕinsadˀ- 'to beg'
kaassadˀ- 'to ask, request'
ʕulladˀ- 'to bend down'

With the verb stems kallaadˀ- 'to live' and akkaadˀ- 'to be seen', the frozen form of the middle suffix has a long vowel: -aadˀ.

With the verb roots given in (17), the middle suffix has a passive meaning (see also Mous 2007). But the agent cannot be expressed. As we shall see below, passive derivation is marked by a separate suffix -am. The agent cannot be expressed.

(17) ɗal- 'to give birth' ɗaladˀ- 'to be born'
kup- 'to burn' kupadˀ- 'to be burnt'
χor- 'to fine' χoradˀ- 'to be fined'

The following are illustrative sentential examples with the derived verb stems above:

(18a) **kallappa parpalee ɗalatti**
kallappa parpali?=i ɗal-aɗ-t-i
kallappa last.year=3 give.birth-MID-3F-PF
'Kallappa was born last year.'

(18b) **harka-awu i=kup-aɗ-ay**
hand-1SG.POSS.M/F 3=burn-MID-PF[3M]
'My hand was burnt.'

(18c) **ɠimaytasi? ʔiχoraɗay**
ɠimayta-si? i=χor-aɗ-ay
old.man-DEF.M/F 3=fine-MID-PF[3M]
'The old man was fined.'

The substitution of the passive suffix for the middle suffix in the above examples yields unacceptable sentences as shown in (19).

(19a) ***harka-awu i=kup-am-ay**
hand-1SG.POSS.M/F 3=burn-PAS-PF[3M]
(intended: 'My hand was burnt.')

(19b) ***ɠimaytasi? ʔiχoramay**
ɠimayta-si? i=χor-am-ay
old.man-DEF.M/F 3=fine-PAS-PF[3M]
(intended: 'The old man was fined.')

6.1.3. Passive

Passive derivation is marked by the suffix **-am**. Both transitive and intransitive verb roots can be passivized. First, I present passives with transitive verbs. The form of the passive derivation is illustrated in the following transitive verbs.

(20)

mur-	'to cut[SG]'	**mur-am-**	'to be cut[SG]'
ɠiɗ-	'to beat'	**ɠiɗ-am-**	'to be beaten'
ɗam-	'to eat'	**ɗam-am-**	'to be eaten'
kat-	'to sell'	**kat-am-**	'to be sold'
ɠup-	'to build'	**ɠup-am-**	'to be built'
fur-	'to untie'	**fur-am-**	'to be untied'

A sentence with a transitive verb root without a passive suffix may occur with an agent and patient as in (21a). When such verb roots acquire the passive suffix, the sentence cannot have an expressed agent as shown by the ungram-

matical form in (21b). The passive sentence in (21c) is acceptable because it does not have an overt agent.

(21a) **iʃaʢ ʢoyrasiʔ ʔimuray**
iʃa-ʔ *ʢoyra-siʔ* *i=mur-ay*
3SGM.PRO-NOM tree-DEF.M/F 3=cut[SG]-PF[3M]
'He cut the tree.'

(21b) ***ʢoyra siʔ ʔiʃan ʔimuramay**
ʢoyra-siʔ *iʃa-n* *i=mur-am-ay*
tree-DEF.M/F 3SM.PRO-INST 3=cut[SG]-PF[3M]
(intended: 'The tree was cut by him.')

(21c) **ʢoyrasiʔ ʔimuramay**
ʢoyra-siʔ *i=mur-am-ay*
tree-DEF.M/F 3=cut[SG]-PF[3M]
'The tree was cut.'

When objects are used as instruments to accomplish certain actions, the instrumental suffix is added to the overtly expressed instrument. The sentence in (22) with a passive verb is acceptable for two reasons. First, there is no overt agent; secondly, **faasita** 'axe' is an instrument used for performing the action of cutting.

(22) **ʢoyrasif faasita-n imuramay**
ʢoyra-siʔ *faasita-n* *i=mur-am-ay*
tree-DEF.M/F axe-INST 3=cut[SG]-PF[3M]
'The tree was cut with an axe.'

As it is possible with transitive verbs not to have an explicit subject, it is also the case with intransitive verbs that the passive has no explicit subject. However, the implied subject of a passive clause with an intransitive verb, is always the first person singular or plural. The context makes the distinction whether the subject is first person singular or plural. In passives of intransitive verbs the gender agreement on the verb is always the third person feminine. In other parts of the grammar, including passives of transitive verbs, the impersonal verb form is that of third person masculine, which is zero-marked. It seems that the speaker has no subject in mind as referent to the third person feminine inflection. The passive derivation in intransitive verb roots mainly expresses having difficult circumstances. Here are some examples:

(23a) **i=muk-am-t-i**
3=sleep-PAS-3F-PF
'We spent the night.'

(23b) i=kal-am-t-i
3=return.home-PAS-3F-PF
'We returned home.'

In example (23a), the speaker implies that they had a very difficult night. In the same fashion, in (23b), the speaker implies that they had difficulty when returning home, maybe due to danger, accident, etc. on the way.

With the verb root hem- 'marry', there is a lexical passive marking: a masculine subject always occurs in the active as in (24a) but a feminine always occurs in the passive as in (24b). The example in (24c) is unacceptable because the subject is masculine while the verb has a passive derivation.

(24a) nama-si? ?inantasi? ?ihemay
nama-si? *inanta-si?* *i=hem-ay*
man-DEF.M/F girl-DEF.M/F 3=marry-PF[3M]
'The man married the girl.'

(24b) inantasin namasiti? ?ihemamti
inanta-si? *nama-sit-?* *i=hem-am-t-i*
girl-DEF.M/F man-DEF.M/F-DAT 3=marry-PAS-3F-PF
'The girl was married to the man.'

(24c) *namasi? ?inantasiti? ?ihemamay
nama-si? *inanta-siti-?* *i=hem-am-ay*
man-DEF.M/F girl-DEF.M/F-DAT 3=marry-PAS-PF[3M]
(intended: 'The man was married to the girl.')

In the χolme dialect, two separate verb roots are used: hem- 'to marry' when the subject is male and taw- 'to marry' when the subject is female. The verb root taw- does not require a passive derivation. The passive reading is entailed in the meaning of the verb root. Examples:

(25a) namasi? ?ihemay
nama-si? *i=hem-ay*
man-DEF.M/F 3=marry-PF[3M]
'The man married.'

(25b) inanta-si? ?itawti
inanta-si? *i=taw-t-i*
girl-DEF.M/F 3=be.married-3F.PF
'The girl was married.'

There are certain verb roots which inherently entail passive reading: the two verb roots that refer to breaking ɢep- 'to be broken [long objects]' and paɢ- 'to

be broken [round objects]' and the verb root ʃap- 'to be infested with weevil; be soaked; be rotten' are such verb roots. The use of the passive suffix with these verb roots yields unacceptable constructions, as exemplified by the unacceptable forms in (26).

(26a) *ʛoyrasiʔ ʔiʛepamay
ʛoyra-siʔ *i=ʛep-am-ay*
tree-DEF.M/F 3=be.broken-PAS-PF[3M]
(intended: 'The tree was broken.')

(26b) *untasiʔ ʔiʃapamti
unta-siʔ *i=ʃap-am-t-i*
grain-DEF.M/F 3=be.infested.with.weevils-PAS-3F-PF
(intended: 'The grain was infested with weevils.')

The correct versions are given in (27):

(27a) ʛoyra-siʔ ʔiʛep-ay
ʛoyra-siʔ *i=ʛep-ay*
tree-DEF.M/F 3=be.broken-PF[3M]
'The tree was broken.'

(27b) untasiʔ ʔiʃapti
unta-siʔ *i=ʃap-t-i*
grain-DEF.M/F 3=be.infested.with.weevils-3F-PF
'The grain was infested with weevils.'

6.1.4. Inchoative

The inchoative is marked with derivational affixes. Inchoative suffixes may be derived from adjectival or nominal roots. In adjective roots, the suffixes -aɗ, -aaɗ or -naaɗ are used to derive inchoative. Notice that the first of the inchoative suffixes is identical to the middle derivation marker.

The distribution of the inchoative suffixes in adjectival roots is as follows: adjectival roots that have a geminate consonant or a consonant cluster add -aɗ as in (28a); those that have the CVC- template add -aaɗ as in (28b); those with a long vowel in the root add -naaɗ as in (28c). It is difficult to formulate rules on the basis of phonological shapes or semantic categories to capture the distribution of these suffixes. For this reason, below, we provide the adjectival roots with the type of inchoative form that they require.

(28a)	kapp-	'to be fat'	kapp-aɗ-	'to become fat'
	kutt-	'to be big'	kutt-aɗ-	'to become big'
	palɗ-	'to be wide'	palɗ-aɗ-	'to become wide'

	apɗ-	'to be skinny'	apɗ-aɗ-	'to become skinny'
	ʃakk-	'to be small'	ʃakk-aɗ-	'to become small'
	ɠoyy-	'to be wet'	ɠoyy-aɗ-	'to become wet'
	kummaʔ-	'to be short'	kummaʔ-aɗ-	'to become short'
	ʃollaʔ-	'to be light'	ʃollaʔ-aɗ-	'to become light'
	korɗ-	'to be thick'	korɗ-aɗ-	'to become thick'
	palɗ-	'to be wide'	palɗ-aɗ-	'to become wide'
(28b)	ɗer-	'to be tall, long'	ɗer-aaɗ-	'to become tall, long'
	ɗeh-	'to be near'	ɗeh-aaɗ-	'to become near'
	sek-	'to be far'	sek-aaɗ-	'to become far'
	at-	'to be white'	at-t-aaɗ-	'to become white'
	awl-	'to be yellow'	awl-aaɗ-	'to become yellow'
	lek-	'to be many'	lek-aaɗ-	'to become many'
	nukkull-	'to be weak'	nukkull-aaɗ-	'to become weak'
(28c)	ilaaw	'to be green'	ilaaw-naaɗ-	'to become yellow'
	paɠaar-	'to be good'	paɠaar-naaɗ-	'to become good'
	poor-	'to be black'	poor-naaɗ-	'to become black'
	neeɠ-	'to be bad, ugly'	neeɠ-naaɗ-	'to become bad, ugly'
	tiim-	'to be red'	tiip-naaɗ-	'to become red'
	ɠaah-	'to be thin'	ɠah-naaɗ-	'to become thin'
	kokkook-	'to be strong'	kokkon-naaɗ-	'to become strong'

It seems that adjectival roots that have a geminate consonant or a cluster of consonants tend to occur with the inchoative suffix -aɗ. Note that when the inchoative suffix is added to the adjectival roots ɠaah- 'to be thin' and kok-kook- 'to be strong', the long vowels are shortened.

From the distributions of the inchoative and causative suffixes in adjectival roots, we can draw the following distributional parallels:

- those adjectival roots that occur with the inchoative suffix -aɗ occur with the causative suffix -ʃ;
- those adjectival roots that occur with the inchoative suffix -aaɗ occur with the causative suffix -ayʃ; and,
- those adjectival roots that occur with the inchoative suffix -naaɗ occur with the causative suffix -nayʃ;

Exceptionally, the following adjectival roots require the inchoative suffix -aaɗ.

(29)	uls-	'to be heavy'	uls-aaɗ-	'to become heavy'
	nukkull-	'to be weak'	nukkull-aaɗ-	'to become weak'

Inchoative of nominal roots is derived by suffixes **-oodˁ** and **-um**. The inchoative suffix **-oodˁ** is added to nominal roots to express physical or mental state of becoming (30a). The suffix **-um** is added to nominal roots to express social status, such as becoming a father (30b).

(30a)	**χas-oodˁ**	'become happy'	**χasa**	'happiness'
	maaʃʃ-oodˁ	'to become drunk'	**maaʃʃaa**	'drunkenness'
	ɗeep-oodˁ	'to become thirsty'	**ɗeeputa**	'thirst'
	miir-oodˁ	'to become angry'	**miira**	'anger'
	teʔʃ-oodˁ	'to have elephantiasis'	**teʔʃaa**	'elephantiasis'

(30b)	**aapp-um-**	'to become a father'	**aappaa**	'father'
	moott-um-	'to become a friend'	**mootta**	'friend'
	aakk-um-	'to become a grandfather'	**aakkaa**	'grandfather'

6.1.5. Pluractionals and punctuals

Pluractionals and punctuals can be expressed by pairs of (lexical) suppletive verb roots or by means of derivational marking. Below, I first present the suppletive verb roots for pluractional and punctual. The pluractional and punctual suppletive verb roots can be either transitive (31a) or intransitive (31b). Lexical punctuals may express single events or single actions.

(31a)	**iʃʃ-**	'to kill[SG]'	**leyʃ-**	'to kill[PL]'
	pidɗ-	'to buy[SG]'	**heer-**	'to buy[PL]'
	put-	'to uproot[SG]'	**huuɓ-**	'to uproot[PL]'
	mur-	'to cut[SG]'	**ɠuur-**	'to cut[PL]'
	χapt-	'to throw[SG]'	**ɗakk-**	'to throw[PL]'
	ɗay-	'to hit[SG]'	**ɠiɗ-**	'to hit[PL]'
	ɠaniin-	'to bite[SG]'	**ɠom-**	'to bite[PL]'

(31b)	**keer**	'to run[SG]'	**hir-**	'to run[PL]'
	toy-	'to die[SG]'	**ley-**	'to die[PL]'
	piʔ-	'to fall[SG]'	**seh-**	'to fall[PL]'
	χaʔaɗ-	'to fly[SG]'	**paɠaɗ-**	'to run/fly[PL]'

In intransitive suppletive verbs, the choice of pluractional or punctual suppletive verb is determined by the number of the subject. For example, in (32a), the subject **inantasiʔ** 'the girl' is singular and hence **keer-** 'to run[SG]'. In (32b), the subject **hellaasiniʔ** 'the children' is plural and hence **hir-** 'to run[PL]'. The examples in (33) are unacceptable because of the mismatch between the number of the subject and the suppletive verb: in (33a) the subject is singular but the verb root is pluractional; in (33b), the subject is plural but the verb root is punctual.

(32a) **inantasiʔ ʔikeerti**
inanta-siʔ *i=keer-t-i*
girl-DEF.M/F 3=run[SG]-3F-PF
'The girl ran.'

(32b) **hellaasiniʔ ʔihirin**
hellaa-siniʔ *i=hir-i-n*
children-DEF.P 3=run[PL]-PF-PL
'The children ran.'

(33a) ***inantasiʔ ʔihirti**
inanta-siʔ *i=hir-t-i*
girl-DEF.M/F 3=run[PL]-3F-PF
(intended: 'The girl ran more than once.')

(33b) ***hellaasiniʔ ʔikeerin**
hellaa-siniʔ *i=keer-i-n*
children-DEF.P 3=run[SG]-PF-PL
(intended: 'The children ran.')

In transitive suppletive verbs, the choice of the pluractional or punctual is determined by the number of the object rather than the subject. This is illustrated in the examples in (34), where we have the same singular subject but a singular object and punctual suppletive verb in (34a), and a plural subject and pluractional suppletive verb in (34b).

(34a) **namasik karmaa iʔiʃʃay**
nama-siʔ *karmaa* *i=iʃʃ-ay*
man-DEF.M/F lion 3=kill[SG]-PF[3M]
'The man killed a lion.'

(34b) **namasik karmaɗaa ileyʃay**
nama-siʔ *karmaɗaa* *i=leyʃ-ay*
man-DEF.M/F lions 3=kill[PL]-PF[3M]
'The man (has) killed lions.'

As stated earlier, pluractionality and punctual are also marked by means of derivation apart from the lexical suppletives. From underived (punctual) verb roots we derive pluractional verb stems, and from underived pluractional verb roots we derive punctual verb stems. From derived punctual stems we may also derive pluractionality. In what follows, I first discuss the derivation of pluractionals from singulative verb roots, then discuss the derivation of punctuals from pluractional verb roots. Then I return to the derivation of pluractionals, but this time, to their derivation from punctual verb stems. Since the marking of pluractionality is obligatory, the unmarked verb is interpreted to be punctual.

Pluractional derivation is marked by reduplicating the singulative verb root's initial C_1V when there is a geminate consonant in the verb root as in (35a), otherwise C_1VC_1 as in (35b). Notice that long vowels following the verb root's initial consonant appear short in the reduplicated $C_1V(C_1)$.

(35a)	tuɠɠuur-	'to push[SG]'	tu-tuɠɠuur-	'to push.PL'
	ʃaɠɠal-	'to stick to[SG]'	ʃa-ʃaɠɠal-	'to stick to.PL'
	modɗoor-	'to twist[SG]'	mo-modɗoor-	'to twist.PL'

(35b)	ɗot-	'to stab[SG]'	ɗoɗ-ɗot-	'to stab.PL'
	toom-	'to hit with fist[SG]'	tot-toom-	'to hit with fist.PL'
	torp-	'to shoot with spear[SG]'	tot-torp-	'shoot with spear.PL'

Some pluractionals are derived by repeating the verb root. The following are illustrative:

(36)	ɗam-	'to eat'	ɗamɗam-	'to chew a bit'
	pul-	'to scatter'	pulpul-	'to dismantle'
	sar-	'to loot, plunder'	sarsar-	'to loot quickly'
	ʃap-	'to decay'	ʃapʃap-	'to rot completely'
	fur-	'to untie'	furfur-	'to untie quickly'

Punctual derivation is different from pluractional derivation in that in punctual derivation, it is the verb root's final part that is involved. Precisely, punctual is derived by geminating the final consonant of verb roots (see also Ongaye 2010). The derivation is quite productive and expresses that the action is done once. Here are some examples:

(37)	ɠoʃ-	'to pinch[PL]'	ɠoʃʃ-	'to pinch.SG'
	rak-	'to hung[PL]'	rakk-	'to hung.SG'
	leɓ-	'to kick[PL]'	leɓɓ-	'to kick.SG'
	ɠuɗ-	'to pierce[PL]	ɠuɗɗ-	'to pierce.SG'
	tuuk-	'to push[PL]'	tuukk-	'to push.SG'
	mooʃ-	'to break[PL]'	mooʃʃ-	'to break.SG'

From the above examples, we can notice that the pluractional verb roots from which punctual stems are derived may have a CVC- or CVVC- template. It is not possible to have a pluractional root ending in CC.

In Ts'amakko, Savá (2005:186) reports the derivation of punctual from the CVCVC verb root by geminating the second consonant of the verb root. Evidence of comparable material in Konso would probably be the verb root χosal- 'to laugh' which optionally derives the verb stem χossal-. It may also be argued that possibly the verb roots tuɠɠuur- 'to push[SG]', ʃaɠɠal- 'to stick

to[SG]' and **moɗɗoor-** 'to twist[SG]' in (35a) are examples of frozen punctuals. The adjectival roots **ilaaw-** 'to be green' and **paʛaar-** 'to be good, beautiful' have free variant forms: **ilaaʔ-** 'to be green' and **paχaar-** 'to be good, beautiful'. The intensive form of **paχaar-/paʛaar** is formed by geminating the middle consonant: **paχχaar-/paʛʛaar** 'to be very good, beautiful'. No punctual form is derived from the verb roots with **CVC[i]** structure.

The object of punctual verb stems has to be singular. Unless the object requires the efforts of many people who act as a team, the subject of punctual verb stems has to also be singular. For instance, in (38a), both the subject **namasiʔ** 'the man' and the object **inantasiʔ** 'the girl' are singular. In (38b), the subject **orrasiʔ** 'the people' is plural but the object **ɗakaasiʔ** 'the stone' is singular, implying that the single pushing required the effort of more than one person. The example in (38c) is unacceptable because the subject is singular but the object is plural. Likewise, the example in (38d) is unacceptable because the subject is plural and the object singular, implying that the action of pinching once does not require the effort of more than one person.

(38a) **namasiʔ ʔinantasiʔ ʔiʛoʃʃay**
nama-siʔ *inanta-siʔ* *i=ʛoʃʃ-ay*
person-DEF.F/M girl-DEF.M/F 3=pinch.SG-PF[3M]
'The person pinched the child once.'

(38b) **orrasiɗ ɗakaasiʔ ʔituukkay**
orra-siʔ *ɗakaa-siʔ* *i=tuukk-ay*
people-DEF.M/F stone-DEF.M/F 3=push.SG-PF[3M]
'The people pushed the stone once.'

(38c) ***namasih hellaasiniʔ ʔiʛoʃʃay**
nama-siʔ *hellaa-siniʔ* *i=ʛoʃʃ-ay*
person-DEF.F/M children-DEF.P 3=pinch.SG-PF[3M]
(intended: 'The person pinched the children once.')

(38d) ***orrasiʔ ʔinnaasiniʔ ʔiʛoʃʃay**
orra-siʔ *innaa-siniʔ* *i=ʛoʃʃ-ay*
people-DEF.M/F child-DEF.P 3=pinch.SG-PF[3M]
(intended: 'The people pinched the child once.')

Apart from signalling the performance of an action being just once, some punctual verb stems also imply the use of extra force/energy compared to their underived verb roots. For instance, the punctual verb stems **ʛoʃʃ-**'to pinch.SG' and **leɓɓ-** 'to kick.SG' imply the use of more force than their corresponding underived pluractional verb roots **ʛoʃ-** 'to pinch[PL]' and **leɓ-** 'to kick[PL]'.

For the pairs, **fad-** ~ **fadd-** ‘to look for[SG/PL]’ and **ik-** ~ **ikk-** ‘drink[SG/PL]’, they have the same meaning and both are used as equal alternatives for punctual and pluractional.

The verb root **χoo66-** ‘to take a sip’ is also a suppletive form for **ik(k)**-‘to drink’.

The verb root **muk-** ‘to sleep’ is an instance of intransitive verb root with a punctual derivation: **mukk-** ‘to take a nap; lie on something’.

The derivation of pluractionals from derived punctual verb stems are characterised by having a C_1V reduplication of the punctual verb stem’s initial because the last consonant of all derived punctual verb stems is geminate. Pluractionals derived from punctual verb stems express the performance of an action more than once but less than many times. Examples:

(39a) **raakasiʔ ʔinantasiʔ ʔiɢoɢoʃʃiti**
raaka-siʔ *inanta-siʔ* *i=ɢo-ɢoʃʃi-t-i*
old.woman-DEF.M/F girlDEF.M/F 3=PL-pinch.SG-3F-PF
‘The old woman pinched the girl a few times.’

(39b) **Kappoolik kʷaasitasiʔ ʔilele66ay**
Kappooli-ʔ *kʷaasita-siʔ* *i=le-le66-ay*
Kappoole-NOM ball-DEF.M/F 3=PL-kick.SG-PF[3M]
‘Kappoole kicked the ball a few times.’

The derivation of pluractional is also possible from the underived pluractional verb root. Since underived pluractional verb roots do not have geminate consonants, the derivation of pluractionals from the underived pluractional verb roots involves the reduplication of the verb root’s initial C_1VC_1. With an individual entity, it expresses event plurality. That is, it indicates the performance of the action in question many times during more than one event. With plural entities, it expresses either event plurality (performing the action during each event on one individual many times) or the plurality of both the action and entities during an event.

(40) **ɢimaytasih hellaasiniʔ ʔiɢoɢɢoʃay**
ɢimayta-siʔ *hellaa-siniʔ*
old.man-DEF.M/F children-DEF.P

i=ɢoɢ-ɢoʃ-ay
3=PL-pinch[PL]-PF[3M]
‘The old man pinched the children many times.’

6.2. Verb inflection

6.2.1. Aspect

Konso makes a morphological distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect. The imperfective aspect is further distinguished in present imperfective and future imperfective. I use the term "perfective" because the distinction is primarily aspectual, but in fact all perfective marked verbs refer to the past. The imperfective present **-ni** is used for general truth statements. It is primarily imperfective and it can in fact be used for past reference, (54). The Imperfective Future is again primarily imperfective and is used for present tense with certain verbs, (47-48). Below I discuss the perfective and imperfective aspects in detail.

6.2.1.1. The Perfective

Except for first person singular and third person masculine, the perfective aspect is marked by suffix **-i**. Perfective aspect for the first person singular and third person masculine singular is marked by **-ay**. In Karatte dialect, perfective aspect is marked by suffix **-e** for all persons (Black (1973), Bliese and Sokka (1986)). Third person feminine and second person singular and first person plural have person marking before the perfective marker. For second person plural and third person plural, the perfective aspect marker occurs before the plurality marker on the verb.

The perfective aspect expresses actions/events completed before or at the moment of speaking. The actual time difference between the completion of an action/event and the speech time does not affect the form of the perfective aspect suffix. However, adverbs such as **amma** 'now' and **χala** 'yesterday' locate the situation in time relative to the moment of speaking. The word **asu** 'just' is used with the adverb **amma** 'now' to give more emphasis to the completion of the action/event at the moment of speaking. Here are some examples:

(41a) **antiχ χarʃasiʔ ʔinɗamay**

anti-ʔ	*χarʃa-siʔ*	*in=ɗam-ay*
1SG.PRO-NOM	beans-DEF.M/F	1=eat-PF[3M]

'I ate the beans.'

(41b) **inantasiχ χarʃasiʔ ʔiɗamti**

inanta-siʔ	*χarʃa-siʔ*	*i=ɗam-t-i*
girl-DEF.M/F	beans-DEF.M/F	3=eat-3F-PF

'The girl ate the beans.'

(41c) **ammaa asu koɗaasiɗ ɗikkissi**

amma=i	*asu*	*koɗaa-siʔ*	*ɗikkiʃ-t-i*
now=3	just	work-DEF.M/F	finish-3F-PF

'She has just finished the work.'

(41d) **iʃinaχ χalaɗ ɗiluppupa antin**

iʃina-ʔ	*χala=iʔ*	*ɗila-oppupa*	*an-t-i-n*
2PL.PRO-NOM	yesterday=2	field-into	go-2-PF-P

'You (PL) went to the field yesterday.'

(40e) **inuχ χarʃasiʔ ʔinɗammi**

inu-ʔ	*χarʃa-siʔ*	*in=ɗam-n-i*
1PL.PRO-NOM	beans-DEF.M/F	1=eat-1PL-PF

'We ate the beans.'

In cleft constructions, the perfective aspect is invariably marked by the suffix **-ay** for all persons since the verb has the default 3M form in the cleft construction (see also 3.5). The examples in (42a-b) are non-cleft sentences but those in (42c-d) are equivalent clefts.

(42a) **inantasiχ χarʃasiʔ ʔiɗamti**

inanta-siʔ	*χarʃa-siʔ*	*i=ɗam-t-i*
girl-DEF.M/F	beans-DEF.M/F	3=eat-3F-PF

'The girl ate the beans.'

(42b) **iʃinaχ χalaɗ ɗiluppupa antin**

iʃina-ʔ	*χala=iʔ*	*ɗila-oppupa*	*an-t-i-n*
2PL.PRO-NOM	yesterday=2	field-into	go-2-PF-P

'You (PL) went to the field yesterday.'

(42c) **inantasiʔeé χarʃasiʔ ʔiɗamay**

inanta-siʔ-é	*χarʃa-siʔ*	*i=ɗam-ay*
girl-DEF.M/F-CLF	beans-DEF.M/F	3=eat-PF[3M]

'It is the girl who ate the beans.'

(42d) **iʃinaá χala ɗiluppupa aanay**

iʃina-á	*χala*	*ɗila-oppupa*	*aan-ay*
2PL.PRO[ACC]-CLF	yesterday	field-into	go-PF[3M

'It is you (PL) who went to the field yesterday.'

6.2.1.2. The Imperfective

The imperfective aspect is further distinguished into the present imperfective and the future imperfective. Below, I treat each of them in turn.

The present imperfective is marked by suffix **-ni** for all persons. Except for first person plural and second person plural, there is no person marking on the verb. The present imperfective may be used to refer to situations taking place the same time the speech event takes place, as in (43a); it may also refer to habitual actions, as in (43b), or to general truth (43c).

(43a) amman tikupa anni
amma=in *tika-opa* *an-ni*
now=1 house-to go-IPF.PRES
'I am going home now.'

(43b) toolaasiʔ ʔawtapiisa ɗiluppupa isookanni
toola-asiʔ *awtapiisa* *ɗila-oppupa*
family.DEM.M/F always field-into

i=sookaɗ-ni
3=go.to.field-IPF.PRES
'This family goes to the field every day.'

(43c) karamaɗaa sʷaa pattaa ɗammi
karamaɗaa *soʔaa* *patta=i* *ɗam-ni*
lions meat only=3 eat-IPF.PRES
'Lions only eat meat.'

The first person plural and second person plural also add -nna and -ttan, respectively, to -ni. This is shown in (44):

(44a) inuʔ ʔurmalaapan anninna
inu-ʔ *urmalaa-pa=in* *an-ni-nna*
1PL.PRO-NOM market-to=1 go-IPF.PRES-1PL
'We are going to the market.'

(44b) iʃinat tikupa iɗɗeʔnittan
iʃina-ʔ *tika-opa* *iʔ=ɗey-ni-ttan*
2PL.PRO-NOM house-to 2=come-IPF.PRES-2PL
'You (PL) are coming home.'

The present progressive suffix -nna for the first person plural is added to the perfective form of the first person plural as illustrated in (45a).

(45a) inuʔ ʔurmalaapan anninna
inu-ʔ *urmalaa-opa=in* *an-ni-nna*
1PL.PRO-NOM market-to=1 go-IPF.PRES-1PL
'We are going to the market.'

(45b) inuʔ ʔurmalaapan anni
inu-ʔ *urmalaa-opa=in* *an-n-i*
1PL.PRO-NOM market-to=1 go-1PL-PF
'We went to the market.'

In the imperfective aspect, third persons may also occur with the additional suffixes **-tta**, **-ya** and **-yan** for feminine subject (46a), masculine subject (46b) and plural subject (46c), respectively. These suffixes are optional and are used to add meaning such as contrary to expectation (see Section 12.4).

(46a) **inantasiʔ ʔikallitta**
inanta-siʔ *i=kal-ni-tta*
girl.DEF.M/F 3=return.home-IPF.PRES-3F.CEXPEC
'Hey! The girl is going home!'

(46b) **hamiyasiʕ silpootasiʔ ʔiʕeenniya**
hamiya-siʔ *silpoota-siʔ* *i=ʕeeʕ-ni-ya*
boy-DEF.M/F hoe-DEF.M/F 3=take-IPF.PRES-3M.CEXPEC
'Hey! The boy is taking the hoe!'

(46c) **hellaasiniʔ ʔihirriyan**
hellaa-siniʔ *i=hir-ni-yan*
children-DEF.P 3=run[PL]-IPF.PRES-3PL.CEXPEC
'Hey! The children are running!'

In the above examples, the addresser reports that in (46a) the addresser reports that the girl is going home but she is not expected to go home and in (46b), the boy is taking the hoe but he is not expected to take it. In (45c), the addresser reports that the children are running but they are not expected to run.

There are certain verb roots (listed in (47)) that require suffix **-a** rather than **-ni** to mark the present imperfective. The suffix **-a** marks the future imperfective to be discussed shortly. Thus, in the glossing, I maintain the use of IPF.FUT despite the present imperfective reference.

(47) **up-** 'to know'
pah- 'to look like, resemble'
heen- 'to want'
sah- 'to be able to'
ʕap- 'to have'
χoʔ- 'to like something very much'

The following are sentential examples.

(48a) **iʃan namoosiʔ ʔiʔupa**
iʃa-ʔ *nama-osiʔ* *i=up-a*
3SGM.PRO-NOM person-DEM.M/F 3=know-IPF.FUT
'He knows this person.'

(48b) **inantaasiʔ ʔaappaayʃuʔ ʔipahta**
inanta-asiʔ *aappaa-ayʃuʔ*
girl-DEM.M/F father-3PL.POSS.M/F

i=pah-t-a
3=resemble-3F-IPF.FUT
'This girl resembles her father.'

(48c) **iʃoonnal luukkawwaasiniɗ ɗamiyaa iheenan**
iʃoonna-ʔ *luukkawwaa-siniʔ* *ɗam-iyaa*
3PL.PRO-NOM fruits-DEF.P eat-INF

i=heen-a-n
3=want-IPF.FUT-P
'They want to eat the fruits.'

The formation of the future imperfective from the above verb roots requires the inchoative suffix **-naaɗ**. The examples in (49a) and (49b) are the future imperfective versions of the examples in (48a) and (48b), respectively.

(49a) **iʃan namoosiʔ ʔiʔupnaaɗa**
iʃa-ʔ *nama-osiʔ* *i=upnaaɗ-a*
3SGM.PRO-NOM person-DEM.M/F 3=know.INCH-IPF.FUT
'He will know this person.'

(49b) **inantaasiʔ ʔaappaayʃuʔ ʔipahnaatta**
inanta-asiʔ *aappaa-ayʃuʔ*
girl-DEM.M/F father-3PL.POSS.M/F

i=pahnaaɗ-t-a
3=resemble.INCH-3F-IPF.FUT
'This girl will resemble her father.'

The verb roots do not occur with the present imperfective suffix **-ni** except when the verb is marked with inchoative suffix **-naaɗ** as shown in (50). But this later use is not frequent.

(50) **ɗilaasiʔ ʔawtapiisa ʄaɓɓaa icɠapnaanni**
ɗila-asiʔ *awtapiisa* *ʄaɓɓaa*
field-DEM.M/F always weed

i=cɠapnaaɗ-ni
3=have.INCH-IPF.PRES
'This field always has weeds.'

Now, I return to the future imperfective of the imperfective aspect. As mentioned above, the future imperfective is marked by the suffix -a for all persons. It expresses actions that have not started yet at the moment of speaking. Positionally, the future imperfective suffix occurs after the subject marker on the verb. For second person plural and third person plural, it is followed by the plural person marker -n on the verb. The following are illustrative examples.

(51a) antik konfa parre impiɗɗa
anti-ʔ *konfa* *parre* *in=piɗɗ-a*
1SG.PRO-NOM shorts tomorrow 1=buy[SG]-IPF.FUT
'I will buy shorts tomorrow.'

(51b) hekere ɠoyroosiʔ ʔiɗeraaɗa
hekere *ɠoyra-oosiʔ* *i=ɗer-aaɗ-a*
future tree-DEM.M/F 3=be.long-INCHOA-IPF.FUT
'This tree will become long in the future.'

(51c) inantasip piʃaaʔ ʔiʔanta
inanta-siʔ *piʃaa-ʔ* *i=an-t-a*
girl-DEF.M/F water/DAT 3=go-3F-IPF.FUT
'The girl will go to fetch water.'
(lit.: 'The girl will go for water.')

(51d) attiχ χonsupa iʔʔanta
atti-ʔ *χonso-opa* *iʔ=an-t-a*
2SG.PRO-NOM Konso-to 2=go-2-IPF.FUT
'You (SG) will go to Konso.'

6.2.1.3. Continuative constructions

In this section, I discuss bounded and unbounded continuative constructions. I begin with the unbounded continuative constructions. Unbounded continuative constructions that express ongoing actions/events at the time of speaking without reference to the time of start are expressed by verbal nominals, the verb root kit- 'to be, exist' and the postposition ɠaraa 'on (top of)'. Here are some examples:

(52a) inuk kirpa ɗawiya ɠaraan kinna
inu-ʔ *kirpa* *ɗaw-iya* *ɠaraa=in*
1PL.PRO-NOM song sing-VN on=1

kit-n-a
be-P-IPF.FUT
'We are singing a song.'
(lit.: 'We are on (top of) singing a song.')

(52b) **inuh hiranta ɢaraan kinna**

inu-ʔ	*hir-anta*	*ɢaraa=in*
1PL.PRO-NOM	run[PL]-VN	on=1

kit-n-a
be-P-IPF.FUT
'We are running.'
(lit.: 'We are on (top of) running.')

Bounded continuative constructions that express actions/events that started before the moment of speaking but still in progress at the time of speaking are expressed by verbal nominals, the verb root **kit-** 'to be, exist' and the postposition **ɢuɗaa** 'on (side)' as demonstrated in (53).

(53a) **inuk kirpa ɗawiya ɢuɗaan kinna**

inu-ʔ	*kirpa*	*ɗaw-iya*	*ɢuɗaa=in*
1PL.PRO-NOM	song	sing-INF	on=1

kit-n-a
be-P-IPF.FUT
'We have been singing a song.'
(lit.: 'We are on (the side of) singing a song.')

(53b) **inuh hiranta ɢuɗaan kinna**

inu-ʔ	*hir-anta*	*ɢuɗaa=in*
1PL.PRO-NOM	run[PL]-VN	on=1

kit-n-a
be-P-IPF.FUT
'We have been running.'
(lit.: 'We are on (the side of) running.')

Similarly, bounded continuative constructions that express actions/events done over a certain period of time before the time of speaking are expressed by the present imperfective suffix **-ni** and the adverb **χatta** 'in the past, long time ago'. The word **pora** 'road, place' is also commonly used in this context but most often it implies that the action is not approved by the speaker. In the following illustrative examples, I use the label IPF.PRES for the suffix **-ni** despite its past reference.

(54a) **namsiχ χatta horeetaa ɗawwini**

nama-asiʔ	*χatta*	*horeeta=i*
man-DEM.M/F	long.ago	cattle=3

ɗawwi-ni
tend-IPF.PRES
'A long time ago this man used to tend cattle.'

(54b) **iʃaχ χatta ɗillaa pora ikatanni**

iʃa-ʔ	*χatta*	*ɗillaa*	*pora*
3SGM.PRO-NOM	long.ago	fields	road

i=kat-aɗ-ni
3=sell-MID-IPF.PRES
'A long time ago he used to sell fields for his benefit.'

6.2.2. Mood

6.2.2.1. Imperative

The affirmative imperative is marked by suffixes **-i** and **-a** for singular and plural addressee, respectively. (See Section 11.1.6 on negative imperatives.) This can be seen in (55a) and (55b). The second person plural may also be used with first person plural, as shown in (55c).

(55a) **tika kara sah-i**
house in sweep-IMP.SG
'(You (SG)) Sweep the house!'

(55b) **tika kara sah-a**
house in sweep-IMP.PL
'(You (PL)) Sweep the house!'

(55c) **tika kara sah-n-a**
house in sweep-1PL-IMP.PL
'Let us sweep the house!'

The form of the imperative for singular addressee is **-u** when verb stems end in the (frozen) middle or inchoative suffixes. Here are some examples:

(56a) **piɗɗ-aɗ-u**
buy[SG]-MID-IMP.SG
'(You(SG)), Buy for yourself!'

(56b) **kutt-aɗ-u**
be.big-INCH-IMP.SG
'(You (SG)) Become big!'

Polite insistive expression is constructed on the basis of the imperative. It is formed by using the word **ata** and by attaching the suffix **-n** after the imperative

morpheme. The word **ata**, which is obligatory and has the meaning 'please' in this context, may occur initially as in (57a-b) or finally as in (57c-d).

(57a) **ata ɗam-i-n**
please eat-IMP.SG-INSIST
'(You (SG)) Eat, please!'

(57b) **ata ɗam-a-n**
please eat-IMP.PL-INSIST
'(You (PL)) Eat, please!'

(57c) **ɗam-i-n ata**
eat-IMP.SG-INSIST please
'(You (SG)) Eat, please!'

(57d) **ɗam-a-n ata**
eat-IMP.PL-INSIST please
'(You (PL)) Eat, please!'

There is some level of overlap between imperative and optative.

6.2.2.2. Optative

Optative is marked on the verb by suffix **-u** for first persons and third person singular, and by **-i** for third person plural. In addition to the verbal suffixes, first person independent personal pronouns and the morpheme **-a** are used. As might be expected, there is no optative form for second persons. For third persons, the optative expresses an indirect order or wish. Note that there is some level of overlap between optative and imperative.

(58a) **ana-a tika sah-u**
1SG.PRO.ACC-OPT house sweep-OPT
'Let me sweep the house.'

(58b) **inoo tikasahnu**
ino-a *tika* *sah-n-u*
1PL.PRO.ACC-OPT house sweep-1PL-OPT
'May we sweep the house.'

(58c) **a-tika sah-t-u**
OPT-house sweep-3F-OPT
'Let her sweep the house.'

(58d) **a-tika sah-i-n**
OPT-house sweep-OPT-P
'Let them sweep the house.'

Negative optative for first and third persons is expressed using the verb root **ɗiiʃ-** ‘to stop’ and a predicate nominal as in (59).

(59a) **ana-a** **keer-intaa** **ɗiiʃ-u**
1SG.PRO.ACC-OPT run[SG]-VN stop-OPT
‘Let me not run.’
(lit.: ‘Let me stop running.’)

(59b) **keerintaa aɗiissu**
keer-intaa *a=ɗiiʃ-t-u*
run[SG]-VN OPT=stop-3F-OPT
‘Let her not run.’
(lit.: ‘Let her stop running.’)

For third persons, the optative negative can be formed by affixing negative subject clitics directly to the verb root rather than using **ɗiiʃ-** ‘stop’. Here are some examples:

(60a) **iʃaʔ ʔinkeerin**
iʃa-ʔ *in=keer-in*
3SGM.PRO-NOM 3NEG=run[SG]-NEG
‘Let him not run.’

(60b) **iʃeennaʔ ʔinkeerin**
iʃeenna-ʔ *in=keer-in*
3SGF.PRO-NOM 3NEG=run[SG]-NEG
‘Let her not run.’

(60c) **iʃoonnaʔ ʔinkeerin**
iʃoonna-ʔ *in=keer-in*
3PL.PRO-NOM 3NEG=run[SG]-NEG
‘Let them not run.’

Without the overt subjects, it is impossible to identify the number of the subject in the above sentences. This can be seen from the translation of the following example:

(61) **in=keer-in**
3NEG=run[SG]-NEG
‘Let him/her/them not run.’

Verbal negative conjugations are discussed in chapter 11.

7. Adjectives

7.1. Adjectival root classes

Konso has a limited number of adjectival roots (Black 1973; Mous and Ongaye 2009). Below I give an exhaustive list of the adjectival roots by grouping them into certain semantic categories: those in (1a) are colour adjectives, those in (1b) are height/size adjectives, those in (1c) are quality adjectives and those in (1d) are distance/location adjectives.

(1a)	at-	'to be red'
	awl-	'to be brown (+non-human)'
	room-	'to be brown (+human)'
	poor-	'to be black'
	tiim-	'to be red'
	ilaaw-	'to be green'
	makaal-	'to be brown'
	puɗɗayyays-	'to be yellow'
	puʃaʃʃars-	'to be multi-coloured'
	purpurrays-	'to be spotted'
(1b)	ɗer-	'to be tall, long'
	kummaʔ-	'to be short'
	kapp-	'to be fat'
	ɠallaʔ-	'to be thin (length)'
	ɠaah-	'to be thin (width)'
	korɗ-	'to be thick'
	kutt-	'to be big'
	lek-	'to be many'
	killaʔ-	'to be narrow'
	palɗ-	'to be wide'
	ʃakk-	'to be small'
	apɗ-	'to be skinny'
(1c)	kokkook-	'to be strong, hard'
	nukkull-	'to be weak, soft'
	paɠaar-	'to be good, beautiful'
	neeɠ-	'to be bad, ugly'
	ɠoyy-	'to be wet'
	uls-	'to be heavy'
	ʃollaʔ-	'to be light'
	woyy-	'to be better'[11]

[11] The adjectival root woyy- 'to be better' does not form a plural number agreement by reduplication, possibly because of the notion of comparative degree (as opposed to simple degree of comparison).

(1d)	ɗeh-	‘to be near, shallow’
	sek-	‘to be far, deep’

Adjectival roots behave like verbs in the sense that they occur with subject clitics as well as aspect markers except when they are used as attributives. Gender agreement markers occur after the adjectival root, see below (7.4).

7.2. Reduplication in adjectives

As is the case with verbs, adjectival roots also show two types of reduplication: full reduplication and partial reduplication. The reduplication of an adjectival root has a distributive connotation (i.e. the meaning of the adjectival root in question applies to every single member of the group).

Not all adjectival roots show full reduplication of the root. The adjectival roots that reduplicate the full root are listed below.

(2)	tiimtiim-	‘to be red.PL’	from	tiim-	‘to be red’
	poorpoor-	‘to be black.PL’	from	poor-	‘to be black’
	atʔat[12]-	‘to be white.PL’	from	at-	‘to be white’

The above adjectival roots also have partial reduplication of the root as discussed below.

Partial reduplication in adjective roots may be either C_1V or C_1VC_1. The C_1V reduplication is a variant of the C_1VC_1 reduplication with subsequent degemination conditioned by a geminate consonant in the following syllable. That is, C_1V applies only to adjectival roots with geminate consonants. The following are illustrative examples.

(3)	ka-kapp-	‘to be fat.PL’	from	kapp-	‘to be fat’
	ku-kutt-	‘to be big.PL’	from	kutt-	‘to be big’
	ʃa-ʃakk-	‘to be small.PL’	from	ʃakk-	‘to be small’
	ɠo-ɠoyy-	‘to be wet.PL’	from	ɠoyy-	‘to be wet’
	ki-killaʔ-	‘to be narrow.PL’	from	killaʔ-	‘to be narrow’

The C_1VC_1 reduplication applies to adjectival roots that do not have geminate consonants. Interestingly, long vowels in the adjectival roots appear short in the reduplicated part. Below are illustrative examples.

(4)	ɗeɗ-ɗer-	‘to be tall, long.PL’	from	ɗer-	‘be tall, long’
	pap-paɗ-	‘to be wide.PL’	from	paɗ-	‘to be wide’
	uʔ-ʔuls-	‘to be heavy.PL’	from	uls-	‘to be heavy’

[12] atʔat- ’to be white.PL’ is also pronounced with a geminate glottal stop: aʔʔat- ‘to be white.PL’

kok-korɗ-	'to be thick.PL'	from	korɗ-	'to be thick'
nen-neeɠ-	'to be bad, ugly.PL'	from	neeɠ-	'be bad, ugly'
tit-tiim-	'to be red.PL'	from	tiim-	'to be red'
pop-poor-	'to be black.PL'	from	poor-	'to be black'

Banti (1986) reports that the plurals of adjectives in Konso are 'like [in] Oromo but always without consonant doubling'. However, from the above examples we note that adjectival plurality in Konso also involves consonant doubling, (i.e. the C_1VC_1 reduplication (see also below for more examples).

The following are instances that do not follow the above mentioned patterns of reduplication:

(5)	kur-kutt-/kut-kutt-	'to be big.PL'	from	kutt-	'to be big'
	ɠal-ɠalla?-	'be thin.PL'	from	ɠalla?-	'to be thin'
	kap-kapp-	'to be fat.PL'	from	kapp-	'to be fat'
	ʃak-ʃakk-	'to be small.PL'	from	ʃakk-	'to be small'

7.3. Intensity

Intensity in some adjectives is expressed by alternating adjectival roots. For some adjectival roots the variation may involve gemination of the middle consonant if there is one in the root, as in the case of paɠaar- in example (6).

(6)	tiʃʃiim-	'to be very red'	from	tiim-	'to be red'
	puɠɠuur-	'to be very black'	from	poor-	'to be black'
	paɠɠaar-	'to be very good'	from	paɠaar-	'be good'

The other way of expressing intensity in adjectives is reduplicating the whole phrase. Intensity of a situation can be expressed in relation to an individual entity or a group of entities. For instance, the example in (7a) expresses intensity of *dɛ̀r* 'be tall' of the individual entity ɠoyra 'tree', whereas the example in (7b) expresses the same in relation to a group of entities ʔorra 'people'. Note that the subject clitics occur only once.

(7a) ɠoyrasiʔ ʔiɗeri ɗeri

ɠoyra-siʔ	*i=ɗɛ̀r-i*	*ɗɛ̀r-i*
tree-DEF.M/F	3=be.tall-PF	be.tall-PF

'The tree is very very tall.'

(7b) orrasiʔ iɗeɗɗeri ɗeɗɗeri

orra-siʔ	*i=ɗeɗ-ɗɛ̀r-i*	*ɗeɗ-ɗɛ̀r-i*
people-DEF.M/F	3=PL-be.tall-PF	PL-be.tall-PF

'The people are very very tall.'

7.4. Predicative adjectives

The adjectival verb roots may occur in affirmative or negative sentences as predicates that describe a state of being or becoming. When used to describe a state of being, they require subject clitics and aspect marking. For the plurals of all persons, the adjectival root initial C_1V or C_1VC_1 is reduplicated. First person plural and second person plural also have the suffixes **-nna** and **-ttan**, respectively, on the adjective. The following are illustrative examples:

(8a) **antiʔ inɗeri**
anti-ʔ *in=ɗer-i*
1SG.PRO-NOM 1=be.tall.PF
'I am tall.'

(8b) **iʃinaʔ ʔiɗɗeɗɗerittan**
iʃina-ʔ *iʔ=ɗeɗ-ɗer-i-t-tan*
2PL.PRO-NOM 2=PL-be.tall-PF-2-2PL
'You (PL) are tall.'

In the following paradigm, the adjectival root **ɗer-** 'be tall, long' is used to show the use of adjectival predicates with the various persons to describe the state of being.

(9)	**antiʔ ʔinɗeri**	'I am tall.'
	inuʔ ʔinɗeɗɗerinna	'We are tall.'
	attiʔ ʔiɗɗeri	'You (SG) are tall.'
	iʃinaʔ ʔiɗɗeɗɗerittan	'You (PL) are tall.'
	iʃaʔ ʔiɗeri	'He is tall.'
	iʃeennaʔ ʔiɗeri	'She is tall.'
	iʃoonnaʔ ʔiɗeɗɗeri	'They are tall.'

Adjectival roots form verb forms by adding derivational suffixes such as the inchoative and the causative. The inchoative forms are **-aɗ**, **-aaɗ** and **-naaɗ** (see 6.1.4). The following are sentential examples.

(10a) **iɗeraatti**
i=ɗer-aaɗ-t-i
3=be.tall-INCH-3F-PF
'She became tall.'

(10b) **i=ka-kapp-aɗ-a-n**
3=PL-be.fat-INCH-IPF.FUT-PL
'They will become fat.'

(10c) **ikkappatti**
i?=kapp-ad-t-i
2=be.fat-INCH-2-PF
'You (SG) became fat.'

(10d) **indɛddɛraanna**
in=dɛd-dɛr-aad-n-a
1=PL-be.tall-INCH-PL-IPF.FUT
'We will become tall.'

The causative derivation that renders adjectival roots verbs has three forms: **-ʃ**, **-ayʃ** and **-nayʃ** (see 6.1.1). Examples:

(11a) **χormasi? ?ikkappissan**
χorma-si? *i?=kapp-ʃ-t-a-n*
ox-DEF.M/F 2=be.fat-DCAUS-2-IPF.FUT-P
'You (PL) will fatten the ox.'

(11b) **kokaasi? ?innukkullayʃay**
kokaa-si? *in=nukkull-ayʃ-ay*
skin-DEF.M/F 1=be.soft-DCAUS-PF[3M]
'I softened the skin.'

(11c) **oktoowwaasini? ?inenneeɕnayʃin**
oktoowwaa-sini? *i=nen-neeɕ-nayʃ-i-n*
pots-DEF.P 3=PL-be.bad-DCAUS-PF-P
'They made the pots bad.'

So far, we have considered affirmative sentences in which adjectival roots serve as predicates. Next, we examine negative sentences in which adjectival roots serve as predicates.

Negative sentences in which adjectival roots serve as predicates differ from their counterpart affirmative sentences in the following ways:

- They require the existential verb **kit-** in addition to the adjectival predicate;
- Except for third persons, the other persons do attach negative subject clitics on the adjectival predicates;
- All persons have negative subject clitics on the existential verb;
- Except for second and third person plurals, all persons attach a negation marker on the existential verb.

The above features of negative sentences in which adjectival roots are predicates can be observed from the following examples.

(12a) **anɗeri anco**
an=ɗer-i *an=kiy-o*
1NEG=be.tall-PF 1NEG=be-NEG
'I am not tall.'

(12b) **aʔɗeɗɗeri akkittan**
aʔ=ɗeɗ-ɗer-i *aʔ=kit-t-a-n*
2NEG=PL-be.tall-PF 2NEG=be-2-IPF.FUT-P
'You (SG) are not tall.'

The examples in (12) are obtained only in careful speech. In fast speech, however, the negative subject clitics of the existential verb **kit-** occur as enclitics to the adjectival predicate. This leftward cliticisation suppresses the glottal stop of the subject clitics. This in turn causes vowel coalescence for first and second persons: **i+a=ee**. For third persons, the vowel **i** is deleted and negation is marked only by **-n**. The following are illustrative examples.

(13a) **anɗereen co**
an=ɗer-i=an *kiy-o*
1NEG=be.tall-PF=1NEG be-NEG.IPF.FUT
'I am not tall.'

(13b) **aʔɗereek kittu**
aʔ=ɗer-i=aʔ *kit-t-u*
2NEG=be.tall-PF=2NEG be-2NEG.IPF.FUT
'You (SG) are not tall.'

(13c) **ɗeɗɗerin can**
ɗeɗ-ɗer-i=in *kiy-a-n*
PL-be.tall-PF=3NEG be-PF-P
'They are not tall.'

For a complete structure, I provide the following paradigm with the same adjectival root **ɗer-** 'be tall, long' as a predicate.

(14)	**anɗereenco**	'I am not tall.'
	anɗeɗɗereenkinnu	'We are not tall.'
	aʔɗereekkittu	'You (SG) are not tall.'
	aʔɗeɗɗereekkittan	'You (PL) are not tall.'
	ɗerinco	'He is not tall.'
	ɗerinkittu	'She is not tall.'
	ɗeɗɗerincan	'They are not tall.'

In the following table, I present both the affirmative and negative subject clitics that occur with adjectival predicates.

Person	Affirmative subject clitics with adjectival root	Negative subject clitics realized with adjectival roots or with the cooccuring verb **kit-** 'be'	
1SG	**in=**	**an=**	**an=**
1PL	**in=**	**an=**	**an=**
2SG	**iʔ=**	**aʔ=**	**aʔ=**
2PL	**iʔ=**	**aʔ=**	**aʔ=**
3SGM	**i=**		**in=**
3SGF	**i=**		**in=**
3PL	**i=**		**in=**

Table 1: Subject clitics that occur with adjective predicates

Approximation of the prototype meaning of the adjective can be expressed by using the instrumental suffix on the subject as illustrated in (15).

(15a) **iʃanne poori**
iʃa-nn=i *poor-i*
he-INST=3 be.black-PF
'It's blackish.'

(15b) **iʃanne tiimi**
iʃa-nn=i *tiim-i*
he-INST=3 be.red-PF
'It's reddish.'

(15c) **iʃannik kappi**
iʃa-nn=iʔ *kapp-i*
he-INST=2 be.fat-PF
'You (SG) are a bit overweight.'

(15d) **iʃa-nn=in** **ʕallaʔ-i**
he-INST=1 be.thin-PF
'I'm a bit thin.'

7.5. Attributive adjectives

Adjectival roots that serve as attributives do occur neither with subject clitics nor with aspect markers. Rather, they occur with terminal vowels **a** and **aaʔ**. These terminal vowels are gender agreement markers in that those head nouns that show the third masculine or third feminine gender agreement require **a,** while those head nouns that trigger the third person plural gender agreement require **aaʔ**. Number agreement is shown by reduplication. Indefinite head nouns also require a genitive particle **a**, which has not been recognised in the

earlier works on the language. The genitive particle occurs between the head noun and the adjective. Definite head nouns do not require the genitive particle.

The following examples contain the adjectival roots **kutt-** 'to be big'. The distribution of number-gender agreement with this adjectival root can be seen in the examples in (16). In (16a), we have the semantically singular noun **ʕoyra** 'tree[M]' for which the adjectival root has only the singular gender agreement marker on the adjective. In (16b), we have the semantically singular noun **innaa** 'child[P]' for which the adjectival root has only the plural gender agreement marker on the adjective. In (16c), we have the semantically plural noun **orra** 'people[M]' for which the adjectival root has a plural number agreement and a singular gender agreement on the adjective. In (16d), we have the semantically plural noun **ɗillaa** 'fields[P]' for which the adjective has plural number and gender agreement markers.

(16a) **namasiʕ ʕoyra a kuta imuray**

nama-si?	*ʕoyra*	*?*	*kutt-a*
person-DEF.M/F	tree	GEN	be.big-3M/F

i=mur-ay
3=cut[SG]-PF[3M]
'The person cut a big tree.'
(lit.: 'The person cut a tree which is big.')

(16b) **iskatteetasi? ?innaa a kuttaa? ?iʕap-t-a**

iskatteeta-si?	*innaa*	*a*	*kutt-aa?*
woman-DEF.M/F	child	GEN	be.big-P

i=ʕap-t-a
3=have-3F-IPF.FUT
'The woman has a grown up child.'
(lit.: 'The woman has a child who is big.')

(16c) **anti? ?orra a kukutttan akkay**

anti-?	*orra*	*a*	*ku-kutt-a=in*
1SG.PRO-NOM	people	GEN	PL-be.big-3M/F=1

akk-ay
see-PF[3M]
'I saw big people.'
(lit.: 'I saw people who are big.')

(16d) **attiɗ ɗillaa a kukuttaaʔiɠ ɠapta**

atti-ʔ	*ɗillaa*	*a*	*ku-kutt-aaʔ=iʔ*
2SG.PRO-NOM	fields	GEN	PL-be.big-P=2

ɠap-t-a
have-2-IPF.FUT
'You (SG) have big fields.'
(lit.: 'You (SG) have fields which are big.')

Banti (1986:242) reports that Konso is the only language within Oromoid with adjectival words preceding the nouns they modify. His claim holds true only when agentive suffixes are added to adjectival roots (see 7.6 below). Otherwise, the opposite order [N Adj] is the case in Konso, as can be seen from the preceding examples. We can further look at the examples in (17a) and (17b), in which the head noun **kutasiʔ** 'the dog[M]' and **hellaa** 'children[P]' are modified by the adjectival roots **kutt-** 'to be big' and **ʃakk-** 'be small', respectively.

(17a) **kutasik kutta itʷaay**

kuta-siʔ	*kutt-a*	*i=toy-ay*
dog-DEF.M/F	be.big-3M/F	3=die-PF

'The big dog died.'
(lit.: 'The dog which was big died.')

(17b) **hellaa a ʃaʃakkaaʔ ʔiɗeyin**

hellaa	*a*	*ʃa-ʃakk-aaʔ*	*i=ɗey-i-n*
children	GEN	PL-be.small-P	3=come-PF-P

'Small children came.'
(lit.: 'Children that are small came.')

7.6. Deadjectival derivation

7.6.1. Nominal derivation and gender marking

Adjectival roots may combine with agentive suffixes which trigger gender marking: **-ayta**, **-ayteeta** and **-ayaa** for masculine, feminine and plural gender respectively. They give the reading 'X one' where X contains the semantics of the adjective. In the following examples, we observe that the adjectival root **ɗer-** 'be tall' has the agentive suffix **-ayta** in (18a), **-ayteeta** in (18b) and **-ayaa** in (18c). In (18c) we also observe that in addition to the plural gender agreement, the adjective root is reduplicated for number marking. The same suffixes are used for deverbal agentives, see 4.10.2.

(18a) **ɗer-ayta**
be.tall-AGENT.M
'tall one'

(18b) **ɗer-ayt-eeta**
be.tall-AGENT.F
'tall one'

(18c) **ɗeɗ-ɗer-ayaa**
PL-be.tall-AGENT.P
'tall ones'

Adjectival roots that have agentive suffixes occur in relativised or non-relativised phrases. When they occur in relativised phrases, the head noun occurs phrase final as in (19a). On the other hand, in non-relativised phrases, the head noun occurs phrase-initially, as in (19b). The examples in (20) are unacceptable because in (20a) the genitive particle is missing between the agentivised adjective and the head noun; (20b) is unacceptable because a genitive particle is inserted between the head noun and the agentivised adjective.

(19a) **kutt-ayteeta** **a** **tika**
be.big-AGENT.F GEN house
'a house which is big'

(19b) **tika** **kutt-ayteeta**
house be.big-AGENT.F
'a big house'

(20a) ***kutt-ayteeta** **tika**
be.big-AGENT.F house

(20b) ***tika** **a** **kutt-ayteeta**
house GEN be.big-AGENT.F

Earlier we saw the gender agreement when the adjectives are used attributively. We have seen that plural nouns such as **orra** 'people' and **iskatta** 'women' trigger the same gender agreement as the third person singular masculine or feminine subject. However, with the background suffix **-eyye** added to nominal roots, all nouns that are semantically plural occur with the plural agentive suffix **-ayaa**. Singular nouns that trigger plural gender agreement also occur with the agentive plural suffix **-ayaa**. The following are illustrative examples.

(21a) **tikeeyye kuttayteeta**
tika-eyye *kutt-ayteeta*
house-BKGRD be.big-AGENT.F
'House-wise, it is a wide one.'

(21b) ɠoyreeyye ɗerayta
ɠoyra-eyye *ɗer-ayta*
tree-BKGRD be.tall-AGENT.M
'Tree-wise, it is a tall one.'

(21c) innaayye ɠallaʔayaa
innaa-eyye *ɠallaʔ-ayaa*
child-BKGRD be.thin-AGENT.P
'Child-wise, he is a thin one.'

(22a) orreeyye ɗeɗɗerayaa
orra-eyye *ɗeɗ-ɗer-ayaa*
people-BKGRD PL-be.tall-AGENT.P
'People-wise, they are tall ones.'

(22b) iskatt-eeyye ɠaɠallaʔayaa
iskatta-eeyye *ɠa-ɠallaʔ-ayaa*
women-BKGRD PL-be.thin-AGENT.P
'Women-wise, they are thin ones.'

(22c) ɗillaayye pappalɗayaa
ɗillaa-eeyye *pap-palɗ-ayaa*
fields-BKGRD PL-be.wide-AGENT.P
'Fields-wise, they are wide ones.'

7.6.2. Deadjectival action nominals

Deadjectival action nominals are derived from adjectival stems by adding the suffix -**taá**. The inchoative suffix is required before attaching -**taá** as shown in (23).

(23a) palɗattaá
palɗ-aɗ-taá
be.wide-INCH-NML
'widening'

(23b) kappattaá
kapp-aɗ-taá
be.fat-INCH-NML
'getting fat'

Below are sentential examples:

(24a) **sukeentasik kuttattaá ipaayyiti**
sukeenta-si? *kutt-ad-taá* *i=paayyi-t-i*
lamb.F-DEF.M/F be.big-INCH-NMLZ 3=strat-3F-PF
'The lamb has started to grow.'
(lit.: 'The lamb started to become big.')

(24b) **okkattasik kappattaá ipaayyay**
okkatta-si? *kapp-ad-taá* *i=paayy-ay*
cow-DEF.M/F be.fat-INCH-NMLZ 3=start-PF[3M]
'The cow has started to get fat.'

8. Postpositions, adverbials and conjunctions

8.1. Postpositions

Postpositions occur either with a final **-a** or **-aa**. When they occur with a short final **-a**, they indicate the reference object (e.g. a container). When they occur with a final long **-aa**, they indicate the located object (e.g. a contained object). Earlier works (e.g. Black 1973; Bliese and Sokka 1986; Getahun 1999; Daudey and Hellenthal 2004) did not recognise both the difference in the quantity of the final vowel and the semantic distinction between the reference and located object. In table 1, I give the list of the postpositions in the language.

final **-a**	final **-aa**	Gloss
ɠara	**ɠaraa**	'on'
kapa	**kapaa**	'near'
ɠuɗa	**ɠuɗaa**	'on (non-horizontal plane)'
tupa	**tupaa**	'behind'
tura	**turaa**	'in front of'
kela	**kelaa**	'under'
kara	**karaa**	'in(side)'
mina	**minaa**	'in front'
oppa	**oppaa**	'in (centre)'
ɠuta	**ɠutaa**	'behind (a bit far)'
tula	**tulaa**	'in front of (a bit far)'
kamma	**kammaa**	'behind'

Table 1: Konso postpositions

The following sentences illustrate how the short and long final vowels on the postposition indicate reference object (ground) or the located object:

(1a) **tika kara sah-i**
house in.REF sweep-IMP.SG
'(You (SG)) Sweep the (inside of the) house!'

(1b) **tika kara-a sah-i**
house in-LOC sweep-IMP.SG
'(You (SG)) Sweep it out of the house!'

(2a) **kannootasiɠ ɠuɗan ʃaɠay**
kannoota-si? *ɠuɗa=in* *ʃaɠ-ay*
calabash-DEF.M/F on.REF=1 wash-PF[3M]
'I washed (the exterior of) the calabash.'

(2b) kannootasiɢ ɢudaan ʃaɢay
kannoota-si? *ɢuda-a=in* *ʃaɢ-ay*
calabash-DEF.M/F on-LOC=1 wash-PF[3M]
'I washed (the exterior of) the calabash.'

In examples (1a) and (2a) above, the postpositions end in -a while those in (1b) and (2b) end in -aa. It is this difference in the quantity of the final vowel that accounts for the difference in the interpretation of the sentences: sentences (1a) and (2a) with postpositions ending with -a indicate that the sweeping and washing affects a specific part of the house and the calabash, respectively; the sentences in (1b) and (2b) with postpositions ending with -aa indicate that the nouns 'house' and 'calabash' are used as ground or reference points for something else that is swept and washed, respectively.

The postpositions also occur with the locative suffix -ʔ. The final -aa and the locatonial suffix make a semantic distinction with such verb roots as ɢeed- 'to take', pidd- 'to buy[SG]' and kat- 'to sell'. The semantic distinction is that postpositions ending with the long vowel have the meaning of 'taking something away from something else' while the locative suffix renders the meaning of 'adding something to something else'. The following are illustrative examples.

(3a) ɢoroosiniɢ ɢudaa ɢeedi
ɢoraa-osini? *ɢudaa* *ɢeed-i*
trees-DEM.P on.LOC take-IMP.SG
'(You (SG)) Take (some trees) from these trees!'

(3b) ɢoroosiniɢ ɢudaɢ ɢeedi
ɢoraa-osini? *ɢuda-ʔ* *ɢeed-i*
trees-DEM.P on-LOC take-IMP.SG
'(You (SG)) Add (some trees) to these trees!'

(3c) punittaasiɢ ɢudaa pidɗi
punitta-asi? *ɢuda-a* *pidɗ-i*
coffee-DEM.M/F on-LOC buy[SG]-IMP.SG
'(You (SG)) Buy (some coffee) from this coffee!'

(3d) punittaasiɢ ɢudap pidɗi
punitta-asi? *ɢuda-ʔ* *pidɗ-i*
coffee-DEM.M/F on-LOC buy[SG]-IMP.SG
'(You (SG)) Buy (some coffee) in addition to this coffee!'

The postposition equivalent to the English preposition 'until, up to' is expressed by the locational head noun haka and the genitive particle a, and the object noun of the postposition occurs with the specifier suffix -tiʔ as shown in

(4). Mous suggested to me that the locational head noun **haka** could be a loan word from Swahili through some intermediate languages, as it is a word for 'border' which is used as a preposition for 'until'.

(4) **haka a χarratit tikaasis sahi**
haka *a* *χarra-ti?* *tika-asi?*
until GEN gate-SPEC house-DEM.M/F

sah-i
sweep-IMP.SG
'(You (SG)) Sweep this house up to the gate!'

Similarly, the postposition equivalent to the English preposition 'about' is expressed by the noun **ɠoota** 'concerning', the genitive particle **ʔa** and the specifier suffix **-te** and the directional adverb **ɗesa** (see 8.2.2 below). The following is an illustrative example:

(5b) **attiʔ ɠoota-awo ɗesa maanaʔ ʔupta**
atti-ʔ *ɠoota-awo* *ɗesa*
2SG.PRO-NOM concerning-1SG.POSS.M/F towards

maana=iʔ *up-t-a*
what=2 know-2-IPF.FUT
'What do you know about me?'

Note that the postposition **turaa** 'in front of' is used to express detrimental action as in (6a-b). Moreover, with the same detrimental meaning, **turaa** 'in front of' may occur with the background suffix **-yye** as in (6c).

(6a) **kaaʃaan inantasit turaa ɠeeɗay**
kaaʃaa=in *inanta-siʔ* *turaa* *ɠeeɗ-ay*
money=1 girl-DEF.M/F in.front.of take-PF[3M]
'I took money away from the girl.'

(6b) **iʃat namasit turaa ɠoraa ʔimuray**
iʃa-ʔ *nama-siʔ* *turaa*
3SGM.PRO-NOM man-DEF.M/F in.front.of

ɠoraa *i=mur-ay*
trees 3=cut-PF[3M]
'He cut the trees away from the man.'

(6c) **ɠoyra-si=in** **iʃa** **turaa-yye**
tree-DEF.M/F=1 3SGM[ACC] in.front.of-BKGRD

mur-ay
cut[SG]-PF[3M]
'I cut the tree to his detriment.'
(lit.: 'I cut the tree in front of him.')

8.2. Adverbs

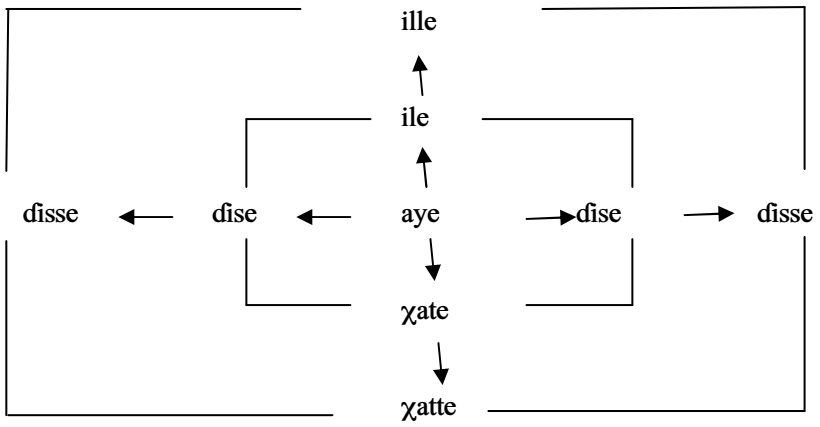
In this section, I discuss locative adverbs (8.2.1) and directionals (8.2.2), combination of locative adverbs and directionals (8.2.3), time adverbs (8.2.4) and conjunctions (8.3).

8.2.1. Locative adverbs

Both underived and derived locative adverbs exist. There are four underived locatives in Karatte dialect (7a), but three in my dialect. In my dialect the underived locative **ile** 'up there' is not used. Instead, the derived locative **irre** 'further up there' is used. Derived locatives are derived by geminating the onset of the last syllable of the underived locative (7b). Derived locatives show location further away from the deictic centre.

(7a)	**ile**	'up there'
	aye ~are	'here'
	ɗise	'there (horizontal plane, sideways)'
	χate	'down there'
(7b)	**ille/irre**	'further up there'
	ɗisse	'further there (sideways)'
	χatte	'further down there'

In the following diagramme, I attempt to show the parallel between the horizontal and vertical planes for the underived and derived locatives. The arrows show the direction of the location. The deictic centre is the locative **aye** 'here'.



Consider the following illustrative examples:

(8a) **χormasiʔ ʔirree ca**
χorma-siʔ *irre=i* *kiy-a*
ox-DEF.M/F up.there=3 be-IPF.PRES
'The ox is up there.'

(8b) **iʃeennaɗ ɗissipa iʔanti**
iʃeenna-ʔ *ɗisse-opa* *i=aan-t-i*
3SGF.PRO-NOM there.further-DEST 3=go-3F-PF
'She went further there.'

(8c) **orsiχ χate maanaa koʔni**
orra-siʔ *χate* *maana=í* *koɗ-ni*
people-DEF.M/F down what=3 do-IPF.PRES
'What are the people down there doing?'

The locative adverb **ɗise** and its derived form **ɗisse** mostly involve finger pointing (by the addresser) in the direction of the located object to make it clear for the addressee that the located object is placed in the direction being pointed in. The object could be located on the right or left side.

When individuals are positioned on a higher elevation (say, in a tree) and on a lower elevation (say, on the ground), the words **moonta** 'sky' and **piita** 'earth, ground' also serve as locatives meaning 'up' and 'down', respectively, as demonstrated in (9).

(9) **antim moonteen cama iʃap piitee ca**
anti-ʔ *moonta=in* *kiy-a-ma*
1SG.PRO-NOM sky=1 be-IPF.FUT-but
iʃa-ʔ *piite=i* *kiy-a*
3SGM.PRO-NOM earth=3 be-IPF.FUT
'I am up here but he is down there (on the ground).'

The adverb **opa** is used to indicate destination as in (10).

(10a) **kuntiχ χonsupaa tay**
kunte-ʔ *χonso-opa=i* *tay-ay*
kunte-NOM Konso-DEST=3 leave-PF[3M]
'Kunte went to Konso.'

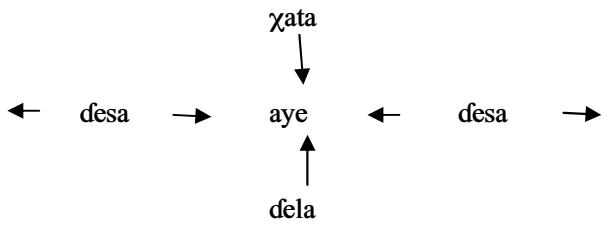
(10b) **inantasit tikupa iɗeʔti**
inanta-siʔ *tika-opa* *i=ɗey-t-i*
girl-DEF.M/F house-DEST 3=come-3F-PF
'The girl came home.'

8.2.2. Directional adverbs

There are three directional adverbs. These are given in (11).

(11) **χata** 'downwards—from a higher altitude to a lower altitude'
ɗela 'upwards—from a lower altitude to a higher altitude'
ɗesa 'sideways—on a horizontal plane'

The deictic centre is the locative **aye** 'here', as shown in the following diagramme.



8.2.2. Combining locative adverbs and directional adverbs

The locative adverbs and the directional adverbs can combine. When we combine the locative adverb **irre** 'up there' with the directional adverbs, we obtain the combinations in (12a). When we combine the locational **aye** 'here' with the directionals, we get the combinations in (12b).

(12a) **irreχata** 'from up there towards the speaker'
irreɗesa 'from up there horizontally'
irreɗela 'from up there downwards'

(12b) **ayeχata** 'from up there to here/from here downwards'
ayeɗesa 'from here to somewhere on a horizontal plane'
ayeɗela 'from down up to here/from here downwards'

Below are illustrative examples:

(13a) **keraasi? ?irreχataa lekkaɗay**
keraa-si? *irreχata=i* *lekkaɗ-ay*
thief-DEF.M/F up.there.downwards=3 climb.down-PF[3M]
'The thief climbed down from up there downwards.'

(13b) **mottooɠaasi? ?ayeɗesa itarpay**
mottooɠaasi? *aye*
car-DEF.M/F here

ɗesa	*i = tarp-ay*
from.here.on.a.horizontal.plane	3 = cross-PF[3M]
'The car passed across here.'	

Most often, utterances like those in (13) are accompanied by finger-pointing.

The word **asse** used with the locative **aye** combines with the directionals generating a meaning like 'straight, along this' along the direction mentioned.

The locatives and directionals may combine with the destination adverb **opa**. The placement of the destination adverb with locatives differs from its placement with directionals: with locatives it is suffixed to the locatives (14a), but with directionals it occurs before the directional (14b).

(14a)

aypa /aye + opa/	'to here'
ilipa /ile + opa/	'to up there'
ɗisipa /ɗise + opa/	'to there (horizontal)'
χatipa /χate + opa/	'to down there'
irripa /irre + opa/	'to up further there'
ɗissipa /ɗisse + opa/	'to further there (horizontal)'
χattipa /χatte + opa/	'to down further there'

(14b)

opaɗela	'one step up from there'
opaɗesa	'one step from there (horizontal)'
opaχata	'one step down from there'

The directionals can be cliticised to the locatives as presented in the following table.

Locative	Directional	Combination
irre	**χata**	**irreeχaa** <?irreeta> 'from there down here'
irre	**ɗela**	**irreela** 'from up there upwards'
irre	**ɗesa**	**irreesa** 'from up there on the horizontal plane'
aye	**χata**	**ayeeχaa** <?ayeeta> 'from here downwards'
aye	**ɗela**	**ayeela** 'from here upwards; from down up here'
aye	**ɗesa**	**ayeesa** 'xxx'
ɗise	**χata**	**ɗiseeχaa** <ɗiseeta> 'from there on the horizontal plane downwards'
ɗise	**ɗela**	**ɗiseela** 'from there on the horizontal plane upwards'
ɗise	**ɗesa**	**ɗiseesa** 'from there on the horizontal plane onwards'
ɗisse	**χata**	**ɗisseeχaa** <ɗisseeta> 'from further there downwards'
ɗisse	**ɗela**	**ɗisseela** 'from further there upwards'

Locative	Directional	Combination
ɗisse	ɗesa	ɗisseesa 'from further there horizontally'
χate	χata	χateeχaa <?xateeta> 'from down there downwards'
χate	ɗela	χateela 'from down there upwards'
χate	ɗesa	χateesa 'from down there on the horizontal plane'
χatte	χata	χatteeχaa <?χatteeta> 'from further down there downwards'
χatte	ɗela	χatteela 'from further down there upwards'
χatte	ɗesa	χatteesa 'from further down there on horizontal plane'

Table 3: Directionals cliticising to locatives

The following table contains the (im)permissible combinations of locatives, the destination adverb and directionals.

Locative	destination	directional	combination
aye	opa	ɗela	aypaɗela
aye	opa	ɗesa	aypaɗesa
aye	opa	χata	aypaχata
irre	opa	ɗela	irripaɗela
irre	opa	ɗesa	*irripaɗesa
irre	opa	χata	*irripaχata
ɗise	opa	ɗela	*ɗisipaɗela
ɗise	opa	ɗesa	ɗisipaɗesa
ɗise	opa	χata	*ɗisipaχata
ɗisse	opa	ɗela	*ɗissipaɗela
ɗisse	opa	ɗesa	ɗissipaɗesa
ɗisse	opa	χata	*ɗissipaχata
χate	opa	ɗela	χatipaχata
χate	opa	ɗesa	*χatipaɗela
χate	opa	χata	*χatipaɗesa
χatte	opa	ɗela	?χattipaɗela
χatte	opa	ɗesa	χattipaɗesa
χatte	opa	χata	χattipaχata

Table 4: Combining locatives, destination adverb and directionals

8.2.3. Time adverbs

In this subsection I present time adverbs. I begin with the discussion of parts of a day. A day can be decomposed into various adverbial time frames given in (15).

(15)		
	teykantaa	'morning'
	ɠuɗaaɗaa	'midmorning'
	kuyyaʔta	'midday'
	kallaptaa	'(very) late afternoon'
	kalaakala(yta)	'evening'
	otumalaa	'midnight'
	paraa minaa	'dawn (lit.: in front of sun rising)'
	halkeetta	'night'

The following time adverbs refer to time frames within the day of conversation. The reference is the moment of conversation **amma** 'now'.

(16)		
	amma	'now'
	ɠaari/helaanna[13]	'a moment ago'
	kuli	'latter'
	amma seɗe	'right now'
	amma ɗehate	'just a moment ago'

Using the time adverb **awwi** 'today', the day of conversation, as a reference point we have the following time adverbs.

(17)		
	awwi	'today'
	awtapiisa	'always' (**awta** 'when' **piisa** 'all')
	χala	'yesterday'
	χallakkali	'the day before yesterday'
	χattakkali	'three days ago [the day before the day before yesterday]'
	χatta	'in the past, long time ago'
	parre	'tomorrow'
	partaane	'the second day after the day of conversation'
	namakule	'the third day after the day of conversation'
	setikule	'the fourth day after the day of conversation'
	itturpa	'in the future' (**isituraaopa** 'in front of self')
	hekere	'remote future'

The time adverbs in (18) refer to nights. Except the night of the day of conversation, the rest refer to past nights. In Konso, one cannot use the night of the day of conversation **raawwa** 'tonight' after sundown. The day ends at sundown and the preceding night is considered to be part of the 24-hour cycle: night + day, not day + night.

(18)		
	raawwa	'tonight'
	χallapo	'last night'
	χalakallape	'the second night before the day of conversation'
	χattakkallape	'the third night before the day of conversation'

[13] **helaanna** has a variant form **helaaɗɗa**.

A week is **tappaa** or **torpaa** from **tappa** ‘seven’ or **torbaa** ‘seven’.

A recent past or a near future is expressed by the adverb **yensi** ‘these days’. The reading of past or future depends on the aspect of the sentence. In (19), for example, we have the time adverb **yensi** and the verb root **roop-** ‘to rain’. (19a) is different from (19b) in that it contains a perfective aspect, which, together with the time adverb, shows that the event of raining is a completed event. (19b) contains a future imperfective, which, together with the time adverb, indicates that the event of raining is not a completed event but an event expected to happen soon. With the present imperfective, the adverb **yensi** expresses an event that has been going on for some time, as in (19c).

(19a) **yensi** **i=roop-t-i**
these.days 3=rain-3F-PF
‘It rained recently.’

(19b) **yensi** **i=roop-t-a**
these.days 3=rain-3F-IPF.FUT
‘It will rain sometime.’

(19c) **yensi** **i=roop-ni**
these.days 3=rain-IPF.PRES
‘It is raining these days.’

We also have time adverbs that refer to a year. These are given in (20). The reference is the year of conversation.

(20) **yeswi** ‘this year’
parpali? ‘last year’
partura? ‘the year before last year’
partussa ‘the third year before the year of conversation’
paraanna ‘next year’
parkeettu ‘the years to come (after next year)’

Adverbs referring to a day following the day of an event are marked by the dative suffix as in (21a). When reference is made to a day preceding the day of an event, the postposition **tura** ‘in front of’ is used with the time adverbs as in (21b).

(21a) **faasika parraytaa?e de?ti**
faasika *parreayta-?=i* *dey-t-i*
Easter next.day-DAT=3 come-3F-PF
‘She came the day after Easter.’

(21b) **faasika tura χalaa ɗeʔti**

faasika	*tura*	*χala=i*	*ɗey-t-i*
Easter	in.front.of	yesterday=3	come-3F-PF

'She came on the day before Easter.'

The division of the year into months is closely associated with agricultural cycle. The year is divided into twelve months. The first month of the year is January (see, also Yohannes and Gemechu 1996:9). A month is broadly classified into two weeks of moonshine and two weeks of dark nights. The twelve months of the year are the following:

(22)

oypa	'January'
sakaanukama	'February'
murano	'March'
peelalta	'April'
harta	'May'
tela	'June'
olχolaʃa	'July'
sessayʃa	'August'
partupta	'September'
kiʃa	'October'
ollinɗala	'November'
poorinka	'December'

A week has seven days, most of which are named after the different places where market is held. Thus, the names of the days of the week differ from place to place. Below I give the days of the week as they are called in my area.

(23)

ompakku	'Monday'
lankayya	'Tuesday'
oypattaali	'Wednesday'
paɠawli	'Thursday'
paɠawli parrayta	'Friday'
palawwa	'Saturday'
saampata	'Sunday'

Some people, particularly old people, use the name **ɠommoossa** instead of **lankayya** for Tuesday, suggesting that in the past markets were held in **ɠommoossa**. Alternatively, **lankayya** is called **palawwa a ʃakkaʔ** 'the small palawwa' as a small number of people hold market in the same place where a very large number of people hold market on **palawwa** 'Saturday'. The reason why the small market is held on Tuesday in **palawwa** is because **lankayya** is far from my area. Another remark is that if market is not held on the day following a market day, then the name of the previous market day and the time adverb **parrayta** 'the following day' are used, as in **paɠawli parrayta** 'Friday'.

8.3. Conjunctions

The following is the list of the conjunctions:

(24)	**oo/ootoo/kandɛ**	'if'	conditional
	awta/etee	'when'	temporal
	akkaa	'that'	complement
	kasu/kuli	'also, even'	inclusive
	ka/iʃuʔ	'and'	coordination/consecutive
	maa/umma	'but'	contrast
	taakine	'or/otherwise'	alternative

The conjunctions listed above are discussed in the chapter on Complex sentences in this study. See also Mous and Ongaye (2009). Below, I give brief remarks and illustrative examples.

Conditional conjunctions mark support clauses in conditional sentences as can be seen from the example in (25). For details of conditionals, see 12.1.1.

(25) **iʃaʔ oodɛyo, konfasiʔ ʔiteyyadɑ**

iʃa-ʔ	*oo*	*dɛy-o,*
3SGM.PRO-NOM	if	come-DP.IPF.FUT

konfa-siʔ	*i=teyyad-a*
shorts-DEF.M/F	3=receive-IPF.FUT

'If he comes, he will receive the shorts.'

The temporal conjunctions **awta** and **etee** 'when' mark temporal clauses as shown in (26). The conjunction **awta** also serves as a conditional conjunction (see details in 12.1.2).

(26) **awtak konfasit teyto, ʔanal leli**

awta=iʔ	*konfa-siʔ*	*tey-t-o,*
when=2	shorts-DEF.M/F	find-2-DP.IPF.FUT

ana-ʔ	*lel-i*
1SG.PRO[ACC]-DAT	tell-IMP.SG

'When you find the shorts, let me know.'

The conjunction **ka** marks not only coordinated nouns as in (27a) but also conjoined consecutive clauses as in (27b).

(27a) **silpoota ka akaafa**

hoe	and	spade

'hoe and spade'

(27b) **iʃaɗ ɗiluppupaa anay ka unta pohay**
iʃa-ʔ *ɗila-oppupa=i* *an-ay* *ka*
3SGM.PRO-NOM field-into=3 go-PF[3M] and

unta *poh-ay*
crops harvest-PF[3M]
'He went to the field and harvested crops.'

The conjunction **iʃuʔ** conjoins only nouns as in (28a). The example in (28b) is unacceptable because the conjunction **iʃuʔ** is used to conjoin consecutive events.

(28a) **kappooli iʃuy yoonaasin akkay**
kappooli *iʃuʔ* *yoonaasi=in* *akk-ay*
Kappole and Yoonasi=1 see-PF[3M]
'I saw Kappoole and Yoonase.'

(28b) ***χooya iʃuʔ ɗakaɗoosinih haaɗa**
χooy-a *iʃuʔ* *ɗakaɗaa-osiniʔ* *haaɗ-a*
come-IMP.PL and stones-DEM.P carry-IMP.PL
(intended: 'Come and carry these stones!')

The conjunctions **maa** and **umma** express counter-expectation or contrast, as shown in (29):

(29a) **urmalaapa iʔanti maa kappaasiʔ ʔiɗapti**
urmalaa-opa *i=an-t-i* *maa* *kappaa-siʔ*
market-to 3=go-3F-PF but wheat-DEF.M/F

i=ɗap-t-i
3=not.find-3F-PF
'She went to market but could not find the wheat (to buy).'

(29b) **koɗaasin koʔni umma ɗikkanninco**
koɗaa-siʔ=in *koɗ-ni* *umma*
work-DEF.M/F=1 work-IPF.PRES but

ɗikkaɗ-ni=in-kiy-o
finish-IPF.PRES=3NEG-be-NEG
'I do the work but it does not get finished.'

Alternatives are expressed by the conjunction **taakine** ‘or, otherwise’. Example:

(30) **ɗiluppupa sookaɗu taakine urmalaapa aani**
ɗila-oppupa *sookaɗ-u* *taakine*
field-into go.to.field-IMP.SG or

urmalaa-opa *aan-i*
market-to go-IMP.SG
‘(You (SG)) Go to the field or market!’

The suffix **-m** is also used to mark an alternative, as shown in (31).

(31) **tikaa-siʔ** **in=sah-a-m**
house-DEF.M/F 1=sweep-IPF.FUT-or

in=ɗiiʃ-a
1=leave-IPF.FUT
‘Shall I sweep the house or leave it?’

9. Basic syntax

This chapter presents word order in noun phrases and simple sentences. It also treats verbless sentences and contains information on both comparatives and equative sentences. The comparative sentences are first discussed, followed by the discussion about equatives. Finally, we examine relative clauses.

9.1. Word order

9.1.1. Word order in noun phrases

A noun phrase may consist of just a noun. The following are illustrative examples:

(1a) **kumayta**
stick
'a stick'

(1b) **tapayta**
rat
'a rat'

(1c) **iskatta**
women
'women'

(1d) **ɠimayaa**
old.men
'old men'

A noun phrase may consist of a head noun and a definite suffix as shown in (2).

(2a) **kuta-siʔ**
dog-DEF.M/F
'the dog'

(2b) **orra-siʔ**
people-DEF.M/F
'the people'

(2c) **kaharraa-siniʔ**
sheep-DEF.P
'the sheep'

(2d) ʕoraa-siniʔ
trees-DEF.P
'the trees'

A noun phrase can also be formed from a noun and a demonstrative suffix. For instance, the demonstrative suffix -osiʔ occurs with the noun tika 'house' in (3a), and the demonstrative suffix -osiniʔ occurs with the noun ɗillaa 'fields' in (3b).

(3a) tikoosiʔ
tika-osiʔ
house-DEM.M/F
'this house'

(3b) ɗilloosiniʔ
ɗillaa-osiniʔ
fields-DEM.P
'these fields'

A noun phrase may contain a head noun with possessive suffixes, as shown in (4).

(4a) tika-awu
house-1SG.POSS.M/F
'my house'

(4b) fillaa-ssu
comb-3PL.POSS.P
'their comb'

(4c) χormaɗaassin
oxen-2PL.POSS.P
'your oxen'

Indefinite head nouns modified by attributive adjectives contain a relative particle a, as in (5a-b). Such noun phrases may be followed by a quantifier, as in (5c-d).

(5a) nama a ɗer-a
person REL be.tall-SG
'a tall person'
(lit.: 'a person who is tall')

(5b) **hellaa a ɗeɗ-ɗer-aaʔ**
children REL PL-be.tall-P
'tall children'
(lit.: 'children who are tall')

(5c) **ɠoyra a ɗer-a tokka**
tree REL be.tall-S one
'a tall tree'
(lit.: 'a tree which is tall')

(5d) **ɠoraa a ɗeɗɗeraal lakki**
ɠoraa a ɗeɗ-ɗer-aaʔ lakki
trees REL PL-be.tall-P two
'two tall trees'
(lit.: 'two trees which are tall')

In noun phrases composed of a head noun and a quantifier, the word order is head noun followed by quantifiers. When numerals higher than one are used as quantifiers, singulative nouns are used in the noun phrases, as in (6a-b). In noun phrases, plurative nouns may occur with numerals higher than one as in (6c-d).

(6a) **tika lakki**
house two
'two houses'

(6b) **nama ken**
person five
'five people'

(6c) **χorma-ɗaa leh**
ox-PL six
'six oxen'

(6d) **kahar-raa afur**
sheep-PL four
'four sheep'

The use of the singulative noun **nama** 'person' in the context of noun phrases quantified with numerals higher than one is special in that its suppletive plural form **orra** 'persons, people' is never used with numeral quantifiers, as the ungrammaticality of (7b) illustrates.

(7a) **nama ken=in akk-ay**
person five=1 see-PF[3M]
'I saw five people.'

(7) ***orra ken=in akk-ay**
people five=1 see-PF[3M]
(intended: 'I saw five people.')

Interestingly, both **nama** 'person' and **orra** 'persons, people' may occur with such quantifiers as **lamayta** 'some.M' as shown in (8).

(8a) **nama lamaytaa aytulaa ca**
nama *lamayta=i* *ayetulaa* *kiy-a*
person some.M=3 out.there be-IPF.FUT
'There are some people out there.'

(8b) **orra lamaytaa aytulaa ca**
orra *lamayta=i* *aye-tulaa* *kiy-a*
persons some.M=3 out.there be-IPF.FUT
'There are some people out there.'

The quantifier **piisa** 'all' may occur together with numerals in noun phrases. The order is that the numeral precedes the quantifier. Here is an example:

(9) **antih hellaasinik ken piisan akkay**
anti-ʔ *hellaa-siniʔ* *ken*
1SG.PRO-NOM children-DEF.P five

piisa=in *akk-ay*
all=1 see-PF[3M]
'I saw all five children.'

9.1.2. Word order in simple sentences

In simple sentences with intransitive verbs and overt subjects, the word order is that the subject precedes the verb as in (10a-b). In simple sentences with overt subject and overt object, the word order is subject—object—verb as in (10c-d).

(10a) **iʃeennaχ χala idɛʔti**
iʃeenna-ʔ *χala* *i=dɛy-t-i*
3SGF.PRO-NOM yesterday 3=come-3F-PF
'She came yesterday.'

(10b) **inuʔ ʔinhirra**
inu-ʔ *in=hir-n-a*
1PL.PRO-NOM 1=run[PL]-1PL-IPF.FUT
'We will run.'

(10c) **iʃaʕ ʕoyrasiʔ ʔimuray**
iʃa-ʔ *ʕoyra-siʔ* *i=mur-ay*
3SGM.PRO-NOM tree-DEF.M/F 3=cut[SG]-PF[3M]
'He cut the tree.'

(10d) **attil lahasiʔ ʔikkatti**
atti-ʔ *laha-siʔ* *iʔ=kat-t-i*
2SG.PRO-NOM ram-DEF.M/F 1=sell-2-PF
'You (SG) sold the ram.'

The above simple sentences may occur without the overt subjects, in which case the subjects are understood from the type of the subject clitic and the gender agreement marker on the verb. The sentences in (10a) and (10c) are repeated below as (11a) and (11b) without the subject noun.

(11a) **χala iʤeʔti**
χala **i=ʤey-t-i**
yesterday 3=come-3F-PF
'She came yesterday.'

(11b) **ʕoyrasiʔ ʔimuray**
ʕoyra-siʔ *i=mur-ay*
tree-DEF.M/F 3=cut[SG]-PF[3M]
'He cut the tree.'

Below, I show different word orders that are possible, without discussing the meaning differences. For example, the SV word order in (10a), repeated here as (12a), has the VS order in (12b). The examples in (12c-f) have the same constituents but differ in the order of those constituents: (12c) has SOV word order, (12d) has SVO word order, (12e) has VSO word order, and (12f) has OVS word order. VOS and OSV word orders are also possible, though I do not show them here. Further research is needed to determine the functional differences of these word order variants.

(12a) **iʃeennaχ χala iʤeyti**
iʃeenna-ʔ *χala* *i=ʤey-t-i*
3SGF.PRO-NOM yesterday 3=come-3F-PF
'She came.'

(12b) **idɐʔti iʃeennaχ χala**

i=dɐ̀y-t-i	*iʃeenna-ʔ*	*χala*
3=come-3F-PF	3SGF.PRO-NOM	yesterday

'She came.'

(12c) **iʃaʕ ʕoyrasiʔ ʔimuray**

iʃa-ʔ	*ʕoyra-siʔ*	*i=mur-ay*
3SGM.PRO-NOM	tree-DEF.M/F	3=cut[SG]-PF[3M]

'He cut the tree.'

(12d) **iʃaʔ ʔimuray ʕoyrasiʔ**

iʃaʔ	*i=mur-ay*	*ʕoyrasiʔ*
3SGM.PRO-NOM	3=cut[SG]-PF[3M]	tree-DEF.M/F

'He cut the tree.'

(12e) **imuray iʃaʕ ʕoyrasiʔ**

i=mur-ay	*iʃa-ʔ*	*ʕoyra-siʔ*
3=cut[SG]-PF[3M]	3SGM.PRO-NOM	tree-DEF.M/F

'He cut the tree.'

(12f) **ʕoyrasiʔ ʔimuray ʔiʃaʔ**

ʕoyra-siʔ	*imur-ay*	*iʃa-ʔ*
tree-DEF.M/F	3=cut[SG]-PF[3M]	3SGM.PRO-NOM

'He cut the tree.'

Simple sentences may occur with temporal adverbs such as **χala** 'yesterday' and **parre** 'tomorrow'. Such temporal adverbs are not restricted in their position. They may occur sentence initially as in (13a), between the subject and object as in (13b), between the object and the verb as in (13c) or sentence final as in (13d).

(13a) **χala ʕimaytasik karmaa iʔiʃʃay**

χala	*ʕimayta-siʔ*	*karmaa*	*i=iʃʃ-ay*
yesterday	old.man-DEF.M/F	lion	3=kill-PF[3M]

'Yesterday the old man killed a lion.'

(13b) **ʕimaytasiχ χala karmaa iʔiʃʃay**

ʕimayta-siʔ	*χala*	*karmaa*	*i=iʃʃ-ay*
old.man-DEF.M/F	yesterday	lion	3=kill-PF[3M]

'Yesterday the old man killed a lion.'

(13c) **ʕimaytasiχ karmaa χala iʔiʃʃay**

ʕimayta-siʔ	*karmaa*	*χala*	*i=iʃʃ-ay*
old.man-DEF.M/F	lion	yesterday	3=kill-PF[3M]

'The old man killed a lion yesterday.'

(13d) **ɠimaytasiχ karmaa iʔiʃʃay χala**
ɠimayta-siʔ *karmaa* *i=ʔiʃʃ-ay* *χala*
old.man-DEF.M/F lion 3=kill-PF[3M] yesterday
'The old man killed a lion yesterday.'

9.2. Verbless sentences

The predicate of a sentence can be a verb, noun, adjective or adverb. Verbless sentences may contain nouns that express a profession as in (14a) or a place of origin as in (14b-c).

(14a) **antiʔ ʔanʔakimitta**
anti-ʔ *an=akim-itta*
1SG.PRO-NOM 1=treat.patient-3SGM
'I am a physician.'

(14b) **namasiʃ ʃiraatitta**
nama-siʔ *ʃiraat-itta*
man-DEF.M/F Dirashe-3SGM
'The man is a Diraʃitta.'

(14c) **iʃeenaʔ ʔakimtteeta**
iʃeena-ʔ *akim-tteeta*
3SGF.PRO-NOM treat.patient-3SGF
'She is a physician.'

(14d) **iʃinaʔ ʔaʔʔakimiyyaa**
iʃina-ʔ *aʔ=akim-iyyaa*
2PL.PRO-NOM 2=treat.patient-P
'(You (SG)) are physicians.'

(14e) **orroosik kawwaaɗaa**
orra-osiʔ *kawwaaɗaa*
people-DEM.M/F Gawwada
'These people are Gawwada.'

Verbless sentences may also be formed from temporal adverbs. The nominative suffix -ʔ is added to names of the days of the week. Here are some examples:

(15a) **awwi palawwa**
today Saturday
'Today is Saturday.'

(15b) **χala lankayya**
yesterday Tuesday
'Yesterday was Tuesday.'

(15c) palawwaʔ ʔawwi
palawwa-ʔ *awwi*
Saturday-NOM today
'Today is Saturday.'

Temporal adverbs and question words such as **ayʃa** 'where?' and **aytamu** 'when?' also form verbless sentences, as shown in (16).

(16a) awwi ayʃa
today where
'What is the day today?'
(lit.: Where is today?)

(16b) palawwaʔ ʔaytamu
palawwa-ʔ *aytamu*
Saturday-NOM when
'When is Saturday?'

Verbless sentences can also be formed from numerals with possessor nouns, as shown below.

(17a) hellaa-ssu lakki
children-3PL.POSS.P two
'They have two children.'
(lit.: 'Their children are two.')

(17b) ɗillaa-yyu sessa
fields-1SG.POSS.P three
'I have three fields.'
(lit.: 'My fields are three.')

Furthermore, verbless sentences may be formed from demonstrative pronouns and other nominals, as illustrated in (18).

(18a) seɗi tika-awu
this house-1SG.POSS.M/F
'This is my house.'

(18b) seni pinaanaa
these wild.animals
'These are wild animals.'

9.3. Comparative and equative sentences

A comparative construction is expressed by the postposition ɢara 'on' and the verb root ɢap- 'to have'. ɢara ɢap- is a phrase used for 'to exceed'. The following are illustrative examples.

(19a) **Apittuɖ ɖerumaak Kappooli ɢara iɢapa**

Apittu-ʔ	*ɖer-umaa-ʔ*	*Kappooli*
Apittu-NOM	be.tall-ABS-DAT	Kappooli

ɢara	*i=ɢap-a*
on	3=exceed-IPF.FUT

'Apittu is taller than Kappoole.'
(lit.: 'Apitto exceeds Kappoole for tallness.')

(19b) **lahasik kappumaaɢ ɢolpasiɢ ɢara iɢapa**

laha-sik	*kapp-umaa-ʔ*	*ɢolpa-siʔ*
ram-DEF.M/F	be.fat-ABS-DAT	he-goat-DEF.M/F

ɢara	*i=ɢap-a*
on	3=exceed-IPF.FUT

'The ram is fatter than the he-goat.'
(lit.: The ram exceeds the he-goat for fatness.)

Equative sentences are expressed by a construction in which the equated element is the subject, the entity to which it is equated receives the postposition **minaʔ** 'in front of (facing)' and the value of comparison is expressed in a predicative adjective or a (derived) abstract noun plus the dative and a verb 'to be'. The equated element may be a pronoun (20a), an independent possessive pronoun (20b) or a noun preceded by a genitive (20c).

(20a) **inantasiʔ ʔiʃa minaʔe ɖerumaak kitta**

inanta-siʔ	*ʔiʃa*	*minaʔ=i*	*ɖer-umaa-ʔ*
girl-DEF.M/F	he	in.front.of=3	be.tall-ABS-DAT

kiy-t-a
be-3F-IPF.FUT

'The girl is as tall as he is.'

(20b) **inantasiχ χayya minaʔe ɖeri**

inanta-siʔ	*χayya*	*minaʔ=i*	*ɖer-i*
girl-DEF.M/F	mine	in.front.of=3	be.tall-PF

'The girl is as tall as I am.'

(20c) **simmintoosiʔ ʔa ɗakaam minaʔee kokkooki**

simmintoota-asiʔ	*ʔa*	*ɗakaá-ʔ*	*minaʔ=i*
cement-DEM.SG	GEN	stone-GEN	in.front.of=3

kokkook-i
be.strong-PF
'This (mixed) cement is as strong as stone.'

A noun may precede the genitive particle which, in turn, is followed by a possessive pronoun as in (21).

(21) **inantaasiʔ ʔa χayya minaʔe ɗeri**

inanta-asiʔ	*a*	*χayya*	*minaʔ=i*	*ɗer-i*
girl-DEM.SG	GEN	mine	in.front.of=3	be.tall-PF

'The girl is as tall as I am.'

9.4. Relative clauses

Relative clauses follow their head noun. Except for a definite head noun in subject relative clauses, the head noun is marked by the relative particle **ʔa**. In subject relative clauses in which the head noun is definite, there are no subject clitics. The head noun is never represented in the relative clause by a pronoun. Moreover, there is no marking of the end of the relative clause. Special verb forms are used in relative clauses. These special forms mark gender and/or number and vary with respect to aspect. For example, in the present imperfective, first person singular and third person singular masculine add **-yo**; plurals of all persons and single nouns with plural gender value add **-yaaʔ**; second person singular, third person singular feminine and nouns that show third feminine gender agreement marker on the verb add **-ttu**. These forms are added after the present imperfective suffix **-ni**. The special forms are followed by the cleft construction marker (see also Section 3.5). The following are illustrative examples:

(22a) **ana a urmalaapa anniyoó iʃa akkay**

ana	*a*	*urmalaa-opa*
1SG.PRO.ACC	REL	market-to

an-ni-yo-ó	*iʃa*
go-IPF.PRES-1SG/3SGM-CLF	3SGM.PRO.ACC

akk-ay
see-PF[3M]
'It's me who was going to the market who saw him.'

(22b) **iʃoonna a urmalaapa anniyaaʔé iʃa akkay**
iʃoonna *a* *urmalaa-opa*
2PL.PRO.ACC REL market-to

an-ni-yaaʔ-é *iʃa*
go-IPF.PRES-P-CLF 3SGM.PRO.ACC

akk-ay
see-PF[3M]
'It's you (PL) who went to the market and saw him.'

(22c) **iʃeenna a urmalaapa annittoó iʃa akkay**
iʃeenna *a* *urmalaa-opa*
3SGF.PRO.ACC REL market-to

an-ni-ttu-ó *iʃa* *akk-ay*
go-IPF.PRES-P-CLF 3SGM.PRO.ACC see-PF[3M]
'It's her who went to the market and saw him.'

It is also common for first person singular to add **-ttu** in the present imperfective.

In the future imperfective, except second person plural and third person plural, the remaining persons replace the future imperfective marker **-a** with **-u**. The second person plural, the third person plural and single reference nouns with plural gender value add **-aʔ** to the future imperfective suffix. Here are some examples:

(23a) **antiʔ ʔinantasiʔ ʔurmalaapa antun upa**
anti-ʔ *ʔinanta-siʔ* *urmalaa-opa*
1SG.PRO-NOM girl-DEF.M/F market-to

an-t-u=in *up-a*
go-3F-1SG/1PL/2SG/3SGM/3SGF=1 know-IPF.FUT
'I know the girl who will go to the market.'

(23b) **antit tuparraasiniʔ ʔurmalaapa anaaʔ ʔinupa**
anti-ʔ *tuparraa-siniʔ* *urmalaa-opa*
1SG.PRO-NOM girl-DEF.M/F market-to

an-aaʔ *in=up-a*
go-P 1=know-IPF.FUT
'I know the girls who will go to the market.'

In the perfective, except the second person singular and third person singular feminine, the remaining persons have the third person masculine perfective suffix -ay. All plural persons add -eeʔ after -ay. The second person singular and third person singular feminine have the perfective marker -i. The following are demonstrative examples.

(24a) **hellaasiniχ χala hirayeeʔin akkay**

hellaa-siniʔ	*χala*	*hir-ay-eeʔ=in*
children-DEF.P	yesterday	run[PL]-PF[3M]-P=1

akk-ay
see-PF[3M]
'I saw the children who ran yesterday.'

(24b) **innaasiniχ χala ɗeyayeeʔin akkay**

innaa-siniʔ	*χala*	*ɗey-ay-eeʔ=in*
children-DEF.P	yesterday	come-PF[3M]-P=1

akk-ay
see-PF[3M]
'I saw the child who came yesterday.'

(24c) **inanta a ɗeʔti iɗeri**

inanta	*a*	*ɗey-t-i*	*i=ɗer-i*
girl	REL	come-3F-PF	3=be.tall-PF

'The girl who came is tall.'

In the subsequent subsections, I discuss word order in relative clauses, subject relative clauses, non-subject relative clauses and headless relative clauses.

9.4.1. Word order in relative clauses

In relative clauses with indefinite antecedent, the word order is that the head noun is followed by the relative particle ʔa. The relative particle is followed by the object, which, in turn, is followed by the verb as in (25a). With definite subjects, the head noun is followed by the object, which is, in turn, followed by the verb as in (25b). Note that despite the English translation in (25a), the head noun is indefinite.

(25a)

nama	**a**	**sawwi**	**ɠaarɠaar-ay**	**i=ɗey-ay**
person	REL	Sawwe	help-PF[3M]	3=come-PF[3F]

'The person who helped Sawwe came.'

(25b)

nama-siʔ	**sawwi**	**ɠaarɠaar-ay**
person-DEF.M/F	Sawwe	help-PF[3M]

i = ʤey-ay
3 = come-PF[3M]
'The person who helped Sawwe came.'

In subject relative clauses, the word order is strict. For example, any reordering of the contituents of the example in (25a) yields unacceptable sentences, as in (26): (26a) is unacceptable because the relative particle occurs clause-initially. Similarly, sentence (26b) is unacceptable because the relative particle comes after the object noun **sawwe** (proper name); (26c) is unacceptable since the verb is moved from its clause-final position; (26d) is unacceptable because the object of the relative clause precedes the definite head noun.

(26a) ***a nama sawwe ʕaarʕaar-ay i = ʤey-ay**
REL person Sawwe help-PF[3M] 3 = come-PF[3M]
(intended: 'The person who helped Sawwe came.')

(26b) ***nama sawwe a ʕaarʕaar-ay i = ʤey-ay**
person Sawwe REL help-PF[3M 3 = come-PF[3M]
(intended: 'The person who helped Sawwe came.')

(26c) ***a ʕaarʕaar-ay nama sawwe i = ʤey-ay**
REL help-PF[3M] person Sawwe 3 = come-PF[3M]
(intended: 'The person who helped Sawwe came.')

(26d) ***sawwe namasiʔ ʕaarʕaaray iʤeyay**
**sawwe* *nama-siʔ* *ʕaarʕaar-ay*
sawwe person-DEF.M/F help-PF[3M]

i = ʤey-ay
3 = come-PF[3M]
(intended: 'The person who helped sawwe came.')

In object relative clauses, the reordering of the subject and object is needed. In (27a), we have a subject relative clause but an object relative clause in (27b).

(27a) **hellaasiniʔ ʕolpasiʔ ʔiʃʃayeeʔ ʔiʕaʔʕapamin**
hellaa-siniʔ *ʕolpa-siʔ*
children-DEF.P he-goat-DEF.M/F

ʔiʃʃ-ay-eeʔ *i = ʕaʔ-ʕap-am-i-n*
kill-PF[3M]-P 3 = PL-catch-PAS-PF-P
'The children who killed the he-goat were caught.'

(27b) ʕolpaytasee a hellaasiniʔ ʔiʃʃin iʕalamay
ʕolpayta-si=i *ʔa* *hellaa-sini?* *ʔiʃʃ-i-n*
he-goat-DEF.M/F=3 REL children-DEF.P kill-PF-P

i=ʕal-am-ay
3=slaughter-PAS-PF[3M]
'The he-goat that the children killed was slaughtered.'

9.4.2. Subject relative clauses

In subject relative clauses, the head noun is the subject of the relative clause. Subject relative clauses can be headed by a definite head noun (28a-b) or an indefinite head noun (28c-d).

(28a) filaasinip patayeeʔ ʔiteyaɗin
filaa-sini? *pat-ay-ee?*
comb-DEF.P be.lost-PF[3M]-P

i=teyaɗ-i-n
3=find.MID-PF-P
'The comb that went missing was found.'

(28b) orrasiʕ ʕoraa ʕuuray iɗeyay
orra-si? *ʕoraa* *ʕuur-ay*
people-DEF.M/F trees cut[PL]-PF[3M]

i=ɗey-ay
3=come-PF[3M]
'The people who cut trees came.'

(28c) tika a palɗ-aʔ i=paʕaar-i
house REL be.wide-M/F 3=be.good-PF
'A house that is wide is good.'

(28d) orra a ʕoraa ʕuur-ay i=ɗey-ay
people REL trees cut[PL]-PF[3M] 3=come-PF[3M]
'People who cut trees came.'

9.4.3. Non-subject relative clauses

In non-subject relative clauses, the head noun is not the subject of the clause. In such relative clauses, the object of the verb can be relativised. In (29) the object ʔokkatta 'cow' is relativised as a definite object head noun (29a) and as an indefinite head noun in (29b).

(29a) **antiʔ ʔokkattasik katamayin akkay**
anti-ʔ *okkatta-siʔ* *kat-am-ay=in* *akk-ay*
1SG.PRO-NOM cow-DEF.M/F sell-PAS-PF[3M]=1 see-[3M]
'I saw the cow that was sold.'

(29b) **antiʔ ʔokkatta a katamayin akkay**
anti-ʔ *okkatta* *a* *kat-am-ay=in*
1SG.PRO-NOM cow REL sell-PAS-PF[3M]=1

akk-ay
see-[3M]
'I saw a cow that was sold.'

In non-subject relative clauses, the object of the dative can also be relativised. In (30a), object noun in the dative phrase **konfa** 'shorts' is relativised. In (30b), (irrespective of the English translation) the indefinite dative object **ohta** 'blanket' is relativised.

(30a) **konfaseen kappoolip pidday ikeray**
konfa-siʔ *a=in* *kappoole-ʔ*
shorts-DEF.M/F REL=1 kappoole-DAT

pidd-ay *i=ker-ay*
buy[SG]-PF[3M] 3=be.old-PF[3M]
'The shorts that I bought for Kappoole got worn out.'

(30b) *ohta ak kantoolid daassi ʔbaldi*
ohta *a=iʔ* *kantoole-ʔ* *daaʃ-t-i* *i=bald-i*
blanket REL=2 kantoole-DAT give-2-PF 3=be.wide-PF
'The blanket that you (SG) gave to Kantoole was wide.'

In non-subject clauses, the object of the postposition can be relativised, as in (31).

(31) **ɠoyraseen ɠaraa luukkata pohay imuramay**
ɠoyra-siʔ=in *ɠaraa* *luukkata*
tree-DEF.M/F=1 on fruit

poh-ay *i=mur-am-ay*
harvest-PF[3M] 3=cut[SG]-PAS-PF[3M]
'The tree that I picked the fruits from was cut.'

9.4.4. Headless relative clauses

Headless relative clauses are characterised by not having overt head nouns. This is shown in the following examples:

(32a) **an iʃa akkinu male anɗeʔnu**

a = in	*iʃa*	*akki-n-u*
REL = 1	3SGM.PRO[ACC]	see-1PL-NEG.IPF.FUT

male	*an = ɗey-n-u*
without	1NEG = come-1PL-NEG.IPF.FUT

'Unless we see him, we shall not come (back).'

(32b) **aa inun akkin male inɗeyan**

a = i	*inu = in*	*akk-n*
REL = 3	1PL.PRO[ACC] = 3NEG	see-P

male	*in = ɗey-a-n*
without	3NEG = come-IPF.FUT-P

'Unless they see us, they will not come (back).'

10. Interrogative clauses

In this chapter I analyse the morphological, syntactic and lexical properties of polar interrogatives. I also describe tag questions and content questions.

10.1. Polar interrogatives

Polar questions which elicit 'yes' or 'no' answers are marked by lengthening a final **o** or **a** of the questioned word or by adding the suffix **-e** when a final constituent in a sentence has a final **-i** or a consonant. They are also characterised by having a rising intonation. When a sentence final nominal ends in a long vowel, polar interrogatives are marked only by the rising intonation (Black 1973; Ongaye 2000). The polar interrogatives in (1) are formed from single nouns, those in (2) are formed from proper names, and those in (3) are formed from cardinal numerals.

(1a) **tikaa**
tika-a
house-Q
'Is it a house?'

(1b) **piʃaa**
piʃaa-a
water-Q
'Is it water?'

(2a) **Orχaytoo**
Orχayto-o
Orχayto-Q
'Is it Orχayto?'

(2b) **χasootee**
χasoote-e
χasoote-Q
'Is it χasoote?'

(2c) **Okittaa**
Okitta-a
Okitta-Q
'Is it Okitta?'

(3a) **ken-e**
five-Q
'Is it five?'

(3b) lakkee
lakki-e
two-Q
'Is it two?'

The following are sentential examples. The examples in (4) are affirmative declarative sentences while those in (5) are their polar interrogative counterparts.

(4a) Antut tikupa idɗeya
Antu-ʔ *tika-opa* *i=dɗey-a*
Anto-NOM house-to 3=come-IPF.FUT
'Anto will come home.'

(4b) χormasiʔ ʔikatamay
χorma-siʔ *i=kat-am-ay*
ox-DEF.M/F 3=sell-PAS-PF[3M]
'The ox was sold.'

(5a) Antut tikupa ʔidɗeyaa
Antu-ʔ *tika-opa* *i=dɗey-a-a*
Anto-NOM house-to 3=come-IPF.FUT-Q
'Will Anto come home?'

(5b) χormasiʔ ʔikatamaye
χorma-siʔ *i=kat-am-ay-e*
ox-DEF.M/F 3=sell-PAS-PF[3M]-Q
'Was the ox sold?'

As can be seen from the examples in (4) and (5), polar interrogatives are formed from declaratives either by lengthening the final vowel (in this case, vowel **a**) of the declarative as in (5a) or by adding the suffix **-e** when the declarative has a final consonant as in (5b). The following are additional sentential interrogative examples with the suffix **-e**:

(6a) hellaasiniʔ ʔidɗeʔnee
hellaa-siniʔ *i=dɗey-ni-e*
children-DEF.P 3=come-IPF.PRES-Q
'Are the children coming?' or
'Do the children come?'

(6b) namasiʔ ʔidɗeree
nama-siʔ *i=dɗer-i-e*
person-DEF.M/F 3=be.tall-PF-Q
'Is the person tall?'

Responses to polar interrogative may be **aa** 'yes' or **inna?(a)** 'no', as illustrated respectively in (7b) and (7c), which are responses to (7a). The 'yes' or 'no' responses may be followed by explanatory sentences.

(7a) **antut tikupa idɗeyaa**
antu-ʔ *tika-opa* *i=dɗey-a-a*
ʔanto-NOM house-to 3=come-IPF.FUT-Q
'Will ʔanto come home?'

(7b) **aa (i=dɗey-a)**
yes (3=come-IPF.FUT)
'Yes. (He will come.)'

(7c) **inna?(a) (in=dɗey-u)**
no (3NEG=come-NEG.IPF.FUT)
'No. (He will not come.)'

Polar interrogatives are also very common in conversational discourse and are mostly found in greetings (see also Section 13.3). The following are illustrative examples.

(8a) **nakaytaa**
nakayta-a
health-Q
'How are you?'

(8b) **iʃʃapaannee**
iʔ=ʃapaad-ni-e
2=be.strong-IPF.PRES-Q
'Are you getting strong?'

Note that confirmation or echo-questions are also formed by lengthening the final vowel **o** or **a** of the declarative or by adding suffix **-e** when the final constituent of a sentence has a final **-i** or a consonant. The following are illustrative examples.

(9a) **aynoo**
ayno-o
who-Q
'Who(, did you say)?'

9b) **anaa**
ana-a
1SG.PRO.OBJ-Q
'(Did you mean) me?'

(9c) **ayno-o kal-ay-e**
who-Q come.home-PF-Q
'Who came(, did you say)?'

(9d) **a ɗeʔtoo**
ʔa ɗeʔ-t-u-u
PT come-3F-OPT-Q
'Let her come(, did you say)?'

10.2. Tag questions

Tag questions are marked by suffix **-n(n)**. This suffix appears single when a consonant follows it as in (10a) or as a geminate when followed by a vowel as in (10b). Sometimes, tag questions appear with the verb root **kiɗ-** 'say'.

(10a) **inantasiʔ ʔiɗeʔtin kiɗ-a**
inanta-siʔ i=ɗey-t-i-n kiɗ-a
girl-DEF.M/F 3=come-3F-PF-TAG say-IPF.FUT
'The girl came, didn't she?'

(10b) **ikalayinne**
i=kal-ay-nn-e
3=return.home-PF-TAG-Q
'He returned home, didn't he?'

The suffixes that mark tag question and the instrumental (see Section 3.2.4) are homophonous. The rules that apply to add single (**-n**) or geminate (**-nn**) are also identical in these two cases.

10.3. Content questions

In (11), I list the content question words.

(11)

maana	'what?'
aytam(u)	'when?'
aynu	'who?'
ayʃaa	'where?'
meeɕaa	'how many?'
atta	'how?'
maanaʔi	'why?'
maana malla	'why?/for what reason?'
a ʔaynu	'whose?'
aχaamu	'which one?'
ʔaχaamaneʔ	'which ones?'

In the above list, the content question word **maanaʔi** 'why?' is formed from **maana** 'what?' and the dative suffix **-ʔ**. In fast utterances, **maanaʔi** 'why?' is

also pronounced as **maani?** 'why?'. The content question word **a aynu** 'whose?' is formed from the genitive particle **a** and **aynu** 'who?'. It seems that the content question words **aχaamu** and **aχaamane?** are formed by the same strategy, but **χaamu** and **χaamane?** do not exist on their own.

The following are examples containing content questions.

(12a) **aytamuɗ ɗe?ti**
aytamu=i? *ɗey-t-i*
when=2 come-2-PF
'When did you (SG) come?'

(12b) **Apittu? ?ayʃaa ca**
Apittu-? *ayʃaa=i* *kiy-a*
Apitto-NOM where=3 be-IPF-FUT
'Where is Apitto?'

(12c) **orrasi? ?attaa karmaasi? ?iʃʃay**
orra-si? *?atta=i* *karmaa-si?* *iʃʃ-ay*
people-DEF.M/F how=3 lion-DEF.M/F kill[SG]-PF[3M]
'How did the people kill the lion?'

(12d) **maana?=in ɗey-a**
why=1 come-IPF.FUT
'Why should I come?'

The associative particle **opa** occurs with the content question word **aynu** 'who?' to mark a plural subject. This is demonstrated in (13).

(13) **opa aynoo ɗeyay**
opa *aynu-o* *ɗey-ay*
ASS who-Q come-PF[3M]
'Who (and their associates) came?'

The content question word for 'how much?' is formed from the particle **a**, the content question word **atta** 'how' and the verb root **kit-** 'to be'. Gender is marked on the verb root. The following are illustrative examples.

(14a) **aannaa a atta caa?ih heenta**
aannaa *a* *atta* *kiy-aa?=i?* *heent-a*
milk GEN how be-P=2 want-IPF.FUT
'How much milk do you (SG) want?'

(14b) **ɗaammaa a atta coo piɗɗiti**
ɗaammaa *a* *atta* *kiy-o=i* *piɗɗ-t-i*
flour REL how be-3M=3 buy[SG]-3F-PF
'How much flour did she buy?'

(14c) **alleetaasiʔ ɗooɠɠita a atta kitto pirta**
alleeta-asi? *ɗooɠɠita* *a* *atta* *kit-t-o*
hut-DEM.M/F mud which how be-3F-IPF.FUT

pir-t-a
finish-3F-IPF.FUT
'How much mud will this hut consume (to build it)?'

The dative suffix is attached to **aynu** 'who?' to express an indirect object. With **meeɠaa** 'how many?', the dative suffix shows a specific amount/number. With **aytam(u)** 'when', it marks a specific temporal adverb. The following are illustrative examples.

(15a) **aynu-ʔ=in ɗaaʃ-a**
who-DAT=1 give-IPF.FUT
'Who shall I give (it) to?'

(15b) **meeɠaaʔin χormasik kanna**
meeɠaa-ʔ=in *χorma-siʔ* *kat-n-a*
how.many-DAT=1 ox-DEF.M/F sell-1PL-IPF.FUT
'For how much (money) shall we sell the ox?'

(15c) **aytamuʔe χooraa ɠapti**
aytamu-ʔ=i *χooraa* *ɠap-t-i*
when-DAT=3 appointment hold-3F-PF
'For when did she arrange an appointment?'

From the question word **ayʃaa** 'where?', it is possible to form questions that elicit a person's place of birth/residence or nationality. Such questions are derived by the singulative suffixes **-itta** for masculine (16a), **-itteeta** for feminine (16b) and **-ta** for plural (16c).

(16a) **ayʃitta**
ayʃaa-itta
where-M
'Where is he from?'

(16b) **ayʃitteeta**
ayʃaa-itta
where-F
'Where is she from?'

(16c) **ayʃaa-ta**
where-P
'Where are they from?'

In the following examples, the subjects are first person (17) and second person (18). In these cases subject clitics **an=** for first person and **aʔ=** for second person are required.

(17a) **anʔayʃitta**
an=ʔayʃaa-itta
1=where-M
'Where am I from?'

(17b) **anʔayʃitteeta**
an=ʔayʃaa-itteeta
1=where-F
'Where am I from?'

(18a) **aʔʔayʃitta**
aʔ=ʔayʃaa-itta
2=where-M
'Where are you (SGM) from?'

(18b) **aʔʔayʃitteeta**
aʔ=ʔayʃaa-itteeta
2=where-F
'Where are you (SGF) from?'

First and second person plurals require independent personal pronouns, (19).

(19a) **inon ayʃaata**
inu-ʔ=ʔan ***ayʃaa-ta***
1PL.PRO-NOM=1 where-P
'Where are we from?'

(19b) **iʃinnaʔ ʔayʃaata**
iʃinna-ʔ=aʔ ***ayʃaa-ta***
2PL.PRO-NOM=2 where-P
'Where are you (PL) from?'

The ordinal suffix **-atta** is added to the content question word ***meeʕaa*** 'how many?' to elicit information about the rank of someone in a group. This can be seen from the example in (20).

(20) **meeʕattaa sookti**
meeʕaa-atta=i sook-t-i
how.many-ORD=3 exit-3F-PF
'What did she rank?'

The genitive particle **a** occurs with question words and assigns various meanings: with **meeʕaa** 'how many?', it yields a specific quantity (21).

(21) **ʃaʕaa a meeʕaáʔin pidda**
ʃaʕaa a meeʕaá-ʔ=in pidd-a
local.beer GEN how.many-GEN=1 buy[SG]-IPF.FUT
'How many birrs worth of local beer should I buy?'

In the examples that we have seen so far, there is only one question word per sentence. However, it is possible to have two or more question words in the same sentence when the speaker misses the information provided by other speech participants. For instance, each of the following sentences has two question words.

(22a) *ayno-o maana pidd-ay*
who-CLF what buy-PF[3M]
'Who bought what?'

(22b) **ayno-o aynu ʕid-ay**
who-CLF who.OBJ beat-PF[3M]
'Who beat whom?'

(22c) **aynoo aynuʕ ʕiday**
ayno-ó aynu-ʔ ʕid-ay
who-CLF.OBJ who-NOM beat-PF[3M]
'Who beat whom?'
(lit., 'Who is it that who beat?')

Each of the following examples contains three question words.

(23a) **ayoo aynum maana ɗaaʃay**
ayo-o aynu-ʔ maana ɗaaʃ-ay
who-CLF who-DAT what give-PF[3M]
'Who gave what to whom?'

(23b) **ayoo ayʃam maana akkay**
ayo-o ayʃa-*ʔ maana akk-ay*
who-CLF where-LOC what see-PF
'Who saw what where?'

11. Negation

In this chapter, I analyse negation. The chapter has three sections. Section 11.1 treats verbal negation in declarative clauses. Section 11.2 deals with negation in nominal sentences. Section 11.3 presents lexical negation.

11.1. Negation in declarative sentences

Negation in declarative sentences is marked by subject clitics and/or negative suffixes on the verb. The forms of negative subject clitics are **an=** for first persons, **aʔ=** for second persons and **in=** for third persons. Note that the form of the negative subject clitic for third persons and the form of the affirmative subject clitic for first persons are homophonous. The forms of the negative suffixes on the verb vary according to aspect as discussed below.

11.1.1. Negative Perfective

The negative marker in the perfective is the suffix **-n**. This morpheme precedes the perfective aspect marker **-i**. Except for the first person plural and second person plural, subject personal pronouns are optional. In other words, first person plural and second person plural require subject personal pronouns. Number and gender is not marked on the negative perfective verb.

(1a) **antiɠ ɠoyrasiʔ ʔammurri**
anti-ʔ *ɠoyra-siʔ* *an=mur-n-i*
1SG.PRO-NOM tree-DEF.M/F 1NEG=cut[SG]-NEG-PF
'I did not cut the tree.'

(1b) **iʃinat tikupa adɗeʔni**
iʃina-ʔ *tika-opa* *aʔ=ɗey-n-i*
2PL.PRO-NOM house-to 2NEG=come-NEG-PF
'You (PL) did not come home.'

(1c) **inantasip piʃaasiniʔ ʔinʔoraapni**
inanta-siʔ *piʃaa-siniʔ* *in=ʔoraap-n-i*
girl-DEF.M/F water-P 3NEG=fetch-NEG-PF
'The girl did not fetch the water.'

Without overt subjects, the present imperfective affirmative for first person singular is segmentally identical to that of the perfective negative for third persons. The affirmative and negative distinction for these persons is made by tone: a low tone marks the present imperfective affirmative for first person singular as in (2a), while a high tone marks perfective negative for third persons as in (2b).

(2a) **immukni**
in = muk-ni
1NEG-sleep-IPF.PRES
'I sleep.'

(2b) **immukní**
in = muk-n-í
3NEG = sleep-NEG-PF
'He/She/They did not sleep.'

The paradigm in (3) is an additional example. The optional subject pronouns are left out in the paradigm. The verb root used in the paradigm is **muk-** 'sleep'. Note that the alveolar nasal of the first person and third person subject clitics, and the glottal stop of the second person subject clitic are realised as **m** due to assimilation.

(3)			
	ammukni	*an = muk-n-í*	'I did not sleep.'
	inom mukni	*ino = an muk-n-i*	'We did not sleep.'
	ammukni	*a? = muk-n-i*	'You (SG) did not sleep.'
	iʃinam mukni	*iʃin = a? muk-n-i*	'You (PL) did not sleep.'
	immukni	*in = muk-n-i*	'He/she/they did not sleep.'

Sometimes, the lexeme **nama** 'person' is used instead of the first person plural subject pronoun in negative verbs in all aspects. For example, in (4a) we have an interrogative sentence for which a negative answer is given with the first person subject pronoun in (4b), and with the lexeme **nama** 'person, man' in (4c). The latter renders the sentence impersonal.

(4a) **χormasip patay itteytinee**

χorma-si?	*pat-ay*	*i? = tey-t-i-n-e*
ox-DEF.M/F	lose-PF	2 = find-2-PF-P-Q

'Did you (PL) find the lost ox?'

(4b) **inon teyni**

ino = an	*tey-n-i*
1PL.PRO.NOM = 1NEG	find-1PL-PF

'We did not find it.'

(4c) **naman teyni**

nama = in	*tey-n-i*
person = 3NEG	find-NEG-PF

'We did not find it.'
(lit.: 'A person did not find it.')

Bliese and Sokka (1986:22) provide an example (adapted here) from the Karatte dialect in which the negative for first person plural occurs without either an overt personal subject pronoun or the lexeme **nama** 'person'. In my dialect, the example must have the first person singular as the subject and example (5) would be ungrammatical.

(5) ***andǎmmi**
an=dǎm-n-i
1NEG=eat-NEG-PF
'I/We did not eat.'

11.1.2. Negative future imperfective

In the future imperfective, negation is marked by the subject clitic for all persons, and, except for second person plural and third person plural, also by the negative suffix **-u** on the verb. The second person plural and third person plural do not have the negative suffix **-u** on the verb. All subject personal pronouns can be left out. The following are illustrative examples.

(6a) **ɗettow an=χaʔ-u**
early 1NEG=wake.up-IPF.FUT.NEG
'I will not wake up so early.'

(6b) **ɠoyrasiʔ ʔammurtu**
ɠoyra-siʔ *aʔ=mur-t-u*
tree-DEF.M/F 2NEG=cut[SG]-2-IPF.FUT.NEG
'You (SG) will not cut the tree.'

(6c) **inantasif fatanaappa impiʔtu**
inanta-siʔ *fatanaa-oppa*
girl-DEF.M/F exam-in

in=piʔ-t-u
3NEG=fail-3F-IPF.FUT.NEG
'The girl will not fail in the exam.'

The sentences in (7) are equivalent affirmative forms of the examples in (6):

(7a) **ɗettow in=χaʔ-a**
early 1=wake.up-IPF.FUT
'I will wake up so early.'

(7b) **ɠoyrasiʔ ʔimmurta**
ɠoyra-siʔ *iʔ=mur-t-a*
tree-DEF.M/F 2=cut[SG]-2-IPF.FUT
'You (SG) will cut the tree.'

(7c) **inantasif fatanaappa ʔipiʔta**
inanta-siʔ *fatanaa-oppa* *i=piʔ-t-a*
girl-DEF.M/F exam-in 3NEG=fail-3F-IPF.FUT
'The girl will fail in the exam.'

Consider the paradigms in (8) as well.

(8a)	**ammuku**	< *in=muk-u*	'I will not sleep.'
	ammuknu	< *an=muk-n-u*	'We will not sleep.'
	ammuktu	< *aʔ=muk-t-u*	'You (SG) will not sleep.'
	ammuktan	< *aʔ=muk-t-a-n*	'You (PL) will not sleep.'
	immuku	< *in=muk-u*	'He will not sleep.'
	immuktu	< *in=muk-t-u*	'She will not sleep.'
	immukan	< *in=muk-a-n*	'They will not sleep.'

(8b)	**immuka**	< *in=muk-a*	'I will sleep.'
	immukna	< *in=muk-n-a*	'We will sleep.'
	immukta	< *iʔ=muk-t-*a	'You (SG) will sleep.'
	immuktan	< *iʔ=muk-t-a-n*	'You (PL) will sleep.'
	imuka	< *i=muk-a*	'He will sleep.'
	imukta	< *i=muk-t-a*	'She will sleep.'
	imukan	< *i=muk-a-n*	'They will sleep.'

From the examples in (6) and (7), as well as the paradigms in (8), we can see that negation in the future imperfective is marked by the suffix **-u** while affirmative future imperfective is marked by the suffix **-a**.

11.1.3. Negative present imperfective

Generally, the negative present imperfective is characterised by a main and auxiliary verb construction plus a set of (negative) subject clitics and, depending on the person/number of the subject, an additional negation marker **-u/o**. In the negative present imperfective of the verbs **up-** 'know', **sah-** 'be able to', **pah-** 'resemble, look like' and **heen-** 'want', the auxiliary verb is not used (see below in the present section). When the subject is first or second person, the subject clitics are attached to both the main and auxiliary verb (9a-d). When the subject is third person, the subject clitics are attached only to the existential verb (9e-g). In addition, when the subject is singular or first person plural, a negation marker **-u/o** is affixed at the final slot of the existential verb, but when the subject is second person plural or third person plural, the negation marker **-u/o** is not affixed to the existential verb (compare example (9d) and (9g) to the other examples in (9)). The negative suffix is realised as **-o** when the form of the existential verb has a final palatal consonant. It occurs as **-u** when the existential verb has a final alveolar consonant. The following are illustrative examples:

(9a) **ankeerri anco**
an=keer-ni *an=kiy-o*
1NEG=run[SG]-IPF.PRES 1NEG=be-NEG
'I do not run.'

(9b) **anhirri ankinnu**
an=hir-ni *an=kit-n-u*
1NEG=run[PL]-IPF.PRES 1NEG=be-1PL-NEG
'We do not run.'

(9c) **akkeerri akkittu**
a?=keer-ni *a?=kit-t-u*
2NEG=run[SG]-IPF.PRES 2NEG=be-2-NEG
'You (SG) do not run.'

(9d) **ahhirri akkittan**
a?=hir-ni *a?=kit-t-a-n*
2NEG=run[PL]-IPF.PRES 2NEG=be-2-IPF.FUT-P
'You (PL) do not run.'

(9e) **keerri inco**
keer-ni *in=kiy-o*
run[SG]-IPF.PRES 3NEG=be-NEG
'He does not run.'

(9f) **keerri inkittu**
keer-ni *in=kit-t-u*
run[SG]-IPF.PRES 3NEG=be-3F-NEG
'She does not run.'

(9g) **hirri incan**
hir-ni *in=kiy-a-n*
run[PL]-IPF.PRES 3NEG=be-IPF.FUT-P
'They do not run.'

In fast speech, the negative subject clitics of the existential verb are often encliticised to the main verb. This encliticisation deletes the glottal stop of the subject clitics. This in turn results in vowel coalescence for first and second persons: **i+a=ee** as shown in (10a). For third persons, the final vowel of the present imperfective suffix and the initial vowel of the negative subject clitic become a short vowel (**i+i=i**) as illustrated in (10b).

(10a) **kawwattasi? ʔaɗɗawneek kittu**
kawwatta-si? *a?=ɗaw-ni=a?* *kit-t-u*
terrace-DEF.M/F 2.NEG-build-IPF.PRES=2NEG be-2-NEG
'You (SG) are not building the terrace.'

(10b) **iʃaχ χarʃa ɗammin co**

iʃa-ʔ	*χarʃa*	*ɗam-ni=in*	*kiy-o*
3SGM.PRO-NOM	beans	eat-IPF.PRES=3NEG	be-NEG

'He does not eat beans.'

With overt objects, it is possible to have three negative subject clitics for first and second person: one occurs with the object as a prefix, the second one with the main verb and the third one with the existential verb. Compare (11a-b) with (11c-d).

(11a) **aɠɠoyrasiʔ ʔammurri**

aʔ=ɠoyra-siʔ	aʔ=mur-n-i
2NEG=tree-DEF.M/F	2NEG=cut[SG]-NEG-PF

'You (SG) did not cut the tree.'

(11b) **anχormoosiʔ ʔanpiɗɗu**

an=χorma-osiʔ	*an=piɗɗ-u*
1NEG=ox-DEM.M/F	1NEG=buy[SG]-IPF.FUT.NEG

'I will not buy this ox.'

(11c) **anχarʃa anɗamni anco**

an=χarʃa	*an=ɗam-ni*	*an=kiy-o*
1NEG=beans	1NEG-eat-IPF.PRES	1NEG-be-NEG

'I do not eat beans.'

(11d) **aɗɗillaa ʔaɠɠonni akkittu**

aʔ=ɗillaa	*aʔ=ɠot-ni*	*aʔ=kit-t-u*
2NEG=fields	2NEG-dig-IPF.PRES	2NEG=be-2-NEG

'You (SG) do not work on fields.'

The negative subject clitics that occur with overt objects are optional, (12).

(12a) **ɠoyrasiʔ ʔammurri**

ɠoyra-siʔ	aʔ=mur-n-i
tree-DEF.M/F	2NEG=cut[SG]-NEG-PF

'You (SG) did not cut the tree.'

(12b) **χormoosiʔ ʔanpiɗɗu**

χorma-osiʔ	*an=piɗɗ-u*
ox-DEM.M/F	1NEG=buy[SG]-IPF.FUT.NEG

'I will not buy this ox.'

(12c) **χarʃa anɗamni anco**

χarʃa	*an=ɗam-ni*	*an=kiy-o*
beans	1NEG-eat-IPF.PRES	1NEG-be-NEG

'I do not eat beans.'

The verb roots in (13a) do not require the existential verb for negation in the present imperfective as shown in (13b-d). In 6.2.1.2, we also saw that these verb roots differ from other verb roots in that they do not attach the present imperfective aspect marker **-ni**.

(13a) **up-** 'know'
sah- 'be able to'
pah- 'resemble, look like'
heen- 'want'

(13b) **χopoosini??anheenu**
χopaa-osini? *an=heen-u*
shoes-DEM.P 1NEG=want-NEG
'I do not want these shoes.'

(13c) **iʃak kawwatta ɗawiya insahu**
iʃa-? *kawwatta* *ɗaw-iya*
3SGM.PRO-NOM terrace build-VN

in=sah-u
3NEG-be.able.to-NEG
'He is not able to build a terrace.'

(13d) **iʃina? ʔoli a??uptan**
iʃina-? *oli*
2PL.PRO-NOM each.other

ʔaʔ=ʔup-t-a-n
2NEG=know-2-IPF.FUT-P
'You (PL) do not know each other.'

11.1.4. Negative dependent

Negative dependent in conditional clauses and temporal clauses is marked by negative subject clitics, as well as negative suffixes. Here are some examples:

(14a) **oon ankalin kikawpan ɗeya**
oo-n *an=kal-in* *ke*
if-N 1NEG=return.home-NEG 2SG.PRO.ACC

kapa-opa=in *ɗey-a*
near-to=1 come-IPF.FUT
'If I do not return home, I will come to you.'

(14b) **kanɗen urmalaapa anaanin koɗaasiʔ ʔinkiʔ ʔiyyaɗa**
kanɗe-n *urmalaa-opa* *an=aan-in*
if-N market-to 1NEG=go-NEG

koɗaa-siʔ *in=ki-ʔ* *iyyaɗ-a*
work-DEF.M/F 1=2SG.PRO.ACC-DAT help-IPF.FUT
'If I did not go to the market, I will help you with the work.'

(14c) **an iʃa akkinu male anɗeʔnu**
a=in *iʃa* *akki-n-u*
REL=1 3SGM.PRO[OBJ] see-PL-NEG.IPF.FUT

male *an=ɗey-n-u*
without 1NEG=come-PL-NEG.IPF.FUT
'Unless we see him, we shall not come (back).'

(14d) **kanɗee punu ɗeʔta ohtaisiʔ ʔiʃeennaʔ ʔanɗaaʃo**
kanɗe=i *punu* *ɗey-t-a* *ohta-siʔ*
if=3 even come-3F-IPF.FUT cloth-DEF.M/F

iʃeenna-ʔ *an=ɗaaʃ-o*
3SGF.PRO[ACC]-DAT 1.NEG=give-NEG.IPF.FUT
'Even if she comes, I will not give her the cloth.'

(14e) **awtan ankeerin, iʃa anƈaɗɗaapu**
awta-n *an=keer-in* *iʃa*
when=N 1NEG=run-PF 3SGM.PRO[ACC]

an=ƈaɗɗaap-u
1NEG=catch.up.with-NEG
'When I do not run, I don't catch up with him.'

For additional examples and details, see conditional clauses in Section 12.1.1 and temporal clauses in Section 12.1.2.

11.1.5. Prohibitives with opa

Prohibition is expressed by **opa** (or its short form **o**) and negative subject clitics on the existential verb. The sentences in (15a and 16a) are interrogatives and those in (15b and 16b) are responses expressing prohibition. The responses may occur with **innaʔ** 'no' as in (16c).

(15a) **tikaayʃupa iʔannee**
tika-ayʃu-opa *i=an-ni-e*
house-POSS.M/F.3PL-to 3=go-IPF.PRES-Q
'Is it possible to go to their house?'

(15b) **opa annin can**
opa *ʔan-ni=in* *kiy-a-n*
PROH go-IPF.PRES=3.NEG be-IPF.PRES-P
'It is forbidden to go (in).'

(16a) **kupalaata iɗammee**
kupalaata *i=ɗam-ni-e*
rabbit 3=eat-IPF.PRES-Q
'Is rabbit eaten?'

(16b) **opa ɗammin can**
opa *ɗam-ni=in* *kiy-a-n*
PROH eat-IPF.PRES=3.NEG be-IPF.PRES-P
'It is forbidden to eat (rabbit).'

(16c) **innaʔ ʔopa ɗammin can**
innaʔ *opa* *ɗam-ni=in*
no PROH eat-IPF.PRES=3.NEG

kiy-a-n
be-IPF.PRES-P
'No! It is forbidden to eat (rabbit).'

11.1.6. Negative imperative

As discussed in Section 6.4.1, the affirmative imperative verb is marked by **-i** when the addressee is singular and by **-a** when it is plural, but it is not marked with subject clitics. Negative imperatives, on the other hand, have negative subject clitics. In addition, the negative imperative verb is marked by the suffix **-an,** for both singular and plural addressee. Consider the following examples:

(17a) **in=aan-an**
2NEG=go-NEG.IMP.SG/PL
'(You (SG/PL)) Do not go!'

(17b) **ɠoyraasiʔ ʔimmuran**
ɠoyra-asiʔ *iʔ=mur-an*
tree-DEM.M/F 2NEG=cut[SG]-NEG.IPM
'(You (SG/PL)) Do not cut the tree!'

11.1.7. Negative optatives

Negative optative is marked on the verb by the negative subject clitic **in=** and the negative suffix **-in** on the verb. These morphemes do not distinguish number; both third person singular and plural are marked by these morphemes, as illustrated in (18a and 18b). Number is sometimes expressed in the lexical root if the root is inherently plural, as is the case in (18b).

(18a) **in=ʔaan-in**
3NEG=go-NEG.OPT
'Let him/her/them not go.'

(18b) **in=hir-in**
3NEG=run[PL]-NEG.OPT
'Let them not run.'

11.1.8. Negation in adjectival clauses

Negation in adjectival clauses requires an adjectival root and the existential verb. Negative subject clitics occur with the adjectival root for first and second persons but not for third person subject. Likewise, negative suffixes do not occur with the adjectival root for all persons. The existential verb in adjectival clauses contains negative subject clitics for all persons. Moreover, except for second person plural and third person plural, the remaining persons occur with negative suffixes on the existential verb. (See Section 11.1.3, where similar restrictions are observed in non-adjectival lexical verbs). The negative suffixes are **-u/o**. Plural subjects require the reduplication of the adjectival root's initial $C_1V(C_1)$ for number agreement. Subject personal pronouns are optional. The following are illustrative examples:

(19a) **anɗeri anco**
an=ɗer-i *an=kiy-o*
1NEG=be.tall-PF 1NEG=be-NEG
'I am not tall.'

(19b) **aɗɗeɗɗeri akkittan**
aʔ=ɗeɗ-ɗer-i *aʔ=kit-t-a-n*
2NEG=PL-be.tall-PF 2NEG=be-2-IPF.FUT-P
'You (PL) are not tall.'

(19c) **ɗer-i** **in=kit-t-u**
be.tall-PF 3NEG=be-3F-NEG
'She is not tall.'

Inchoative adjectival clauses contain the suffix **-aaɗ**. Furthermore, all persons have negative subject clitics. Except for second person plural and third person

plural, the remaining persons occur with a negative suffix on the adjectival root. In (20a-b) are sentential examples with the adjectival root **dɗer-** 'be tall, long'. In (20c), I give the surface form of the complete paradigm.

(20a) **anɗeraaɗu**
an=ɗer-aaɗ-u
1NEG=be.tall-INCH-NEG.IPF.FUT
'I will not become tall.'

(20b) **aɗɗeɗɗeraattan**
a?=ɗeɗ-ɗer-aaɗ-t-a-n
2NEG=PL-be.tall-INCH-2-IPF.FUT-P
'You (PL) will become tall.'

(20c)	**anɗeraaɗu**	'I will not become tall.'
	anɗeɗɗeraannu	'We will not become tall.'
	aɗɗeraattu	'You (SG) will not become tall.'
	aɗɗeɗɗeraattan	'You (PL) will become tall.'
	inɗeraaɗu	'He will become tall.'
	inɗeraattu	'She will not become tall.'
	inɗeɗɗeraaɗan	'They will not become tall.'

11.2. Negation in nominal clauses

Negation in nominal clauses is marked by the clause final clitic **-nnin**. The following are illustrative examples:

(21a) **senit tuuyyawwaannimma χarχarayaa**

seni?	*tuuyyawwaa-nnin-ma*	*χarχarayaa*
DEM.PL	pigs-NEG-but	warthogs

'These are not pigs, but warthogs.'

(21b) **an=akim-itta-nnin** <**hakim** 'physician' Amh.>
1=physician-AGENT.SGM-NEG
'I am not a physician.'

In the future imperfective, nominal clauses require the verb root **koɗɗ-** 'become' to which negative subject clitics and a negative suffix are added. Here are some examples:

(22a)

akim-itta	**an=koɗɗ-u**
physician-AGENT.SGM	1NEG=become-IPF.FUT.NEG

'I will not become a physician.'

(22b) **akim-itteeta** **in=kodɗ-u**
physician-AGENT.SGM 1NEG=become-IPF.FUT.NEG
'He will not become a physician.'

(22c) **akim-iyyaa** **in=kodɗ-a-n**
physician-AGENT.PL 3NEG=become-IPF.FUT-P
'They will not become physicians.'

Possessive nominal clauses also add the clitic **-nnin** to express negation. The following are illustrative examples:

(23a) **init tikaawunnin**
ini? *tika-aawu-nnin*
DEM.M/F house-1SG.POSS.M/F-NEG
'This is not my house.'

(23b) **ɗila-adi-nnin**
field-3SG.POSS-NEG
'It is not his/her field.'

The verb root **kiɗ-** 'say' is sometimes used with object form of pronouns in negative clauses. Negative subject clitics as well as the negative suffix **-n** occur with this verb root. In the following examples, (24a) is a context for the reply in (24b).

(24a) **kee ɠoyrasim muraye**
ke-é *ɠoyra-si?* *mur-ay-e*
2PRO.ACC-CLF tree-DEF.M/F cut[SG]-PF[3M]-Q
'Is it you (SG) who cut the tree?'

(24b) **anan ki?ni**
ana=in *kiɗ-n-i*
1SG.PRO.ACC=3NEG say-NEG-PF
'Not me.'
(lit.: 'He/she/they did not say me.')

11.3. Lexical negation

There are certain verb roots that inherently have a negative meaning. For instance, the verb root **ɗiiʃ-** 'stop' carries a negative reading in relative clauses, as shown in (25)

(25) **nama a deʔnaá diiʃu iχoraɗa**
nama *a* *deʔy-naá* *diiʃ-u* *i=χorad-a*
person REL come-VN stop-IPF.FUT.DP 3=be.fined-IPF.FUT
'A person who stops coming will be fined.'

The other lexical item with a negative meaning is **male** 'without', which stands in lexical contrast with the word **olle** 'with'. This is shown below.

(26a) **iʃa olleen aana**
iʃa *olle=in* *an-a*
3SGM.PRO[ACC] with=1 go-IPF.FUT
'I will go with him.'

(26b) **iʃa maleen aana**
iʃa *male=in* *an-a*
3SGM.PRO[ACC] without=1 go-IPF.FUT
'I will go without him.'

Each of the above clauses may occur with negative markers rendering the opposite meaning.

(27a) **iʃa olle anaanu**
iʃa *olle* *an=aan-u*
3SGM.PRO[ACC] with 1NEG=go-NEG.IPF.FUT
'I will not go with him.'

(27b) **iʃa male anaanu**
iʃa *male* *an=aan-u*
3SGM.PRO[ACC] without 1NEG=go-NEG.IPF.FUT
'I will not go without him.'

Still another lexical item with a negative meaning is **malaal-** 'be unable to'. The following is an illustrative example:

(28) **iʃak keerinta imalaalay**
iʃa-ʔ *keer-inta* *i=malaal-ay*
3SGM.PRO-NOM run[SG]-VN 3=be.unable.to-PF
'He was unable to run.'

11.4. Movement of subject clitics and emphatic negation

Unlike their affirmative counterparts, negative subject clitics cannot be separated from the verb and do not occur with overt subjects. This is illustrated by the ungrammatical forms in (29).

(29a) ***atteek keraa ɠapni**
atti=aʔ *keraa* *ɠap-n-i*
2SG.PRO=2NEG thief catch-NEG-PF
(intended: 'You (SG) did not catch thief.')

(29b) ***anten mottooɠaa akkini anco**
anti-ʔ=an *mottooɠaa* *akki-ni*
1SG.PRO-NOM=1NEG car see-IPF.PRES

an=key-o
1NEG=be-NEG
(intended: 'I do not see a car.')

(28c) ***kutaasin karraa ɠapu**
kuta-asi=in *karraa*
dog-DEF.M/F=3NEG squirrel

ɠap-u
catch-IPF.FUT.NEG
(intended: 'The dog will not catch a squirrel.')

Negation is emphasised by using the lexeme **apare** 'somewhere'. It renders a meaning equivalent to the English adverb 'never'. Here are some examples:

(30a) **kussituʔ ʔapare toχupa inanní**
kussitto-ʔ *ʔapare* *toχa-opa* *in=an-n-í*
kussitto-NOM somewhere Toχa-to 3NEG=go-NEG-PF
'Kussitto has never been to Toχa.'

(30b) **antiʔ ʔapare koommaytipa anʔanní**
anti-ʔ *apare* *koommayte-opa* *an=an-n-í*
1SG.PRO-NOM somewhere koommayte-to 1NEG=go-NEG-PF
'I have never been to Koommayte.'

(30c) **iʃaʔ ʔapare ɗila inkanní**
iʃa-ʔ *apare* *ɗila* *in=kat-n-í*
3SGM.PRO-NOM somewhere field 3NEG=sell-NEG-PF
'He never sold a field.'

(30d) **iʃoonnaʔ ʔapare incán**
iʃoonna-ʔ *apare* *in=kiy-á-n*
3PL.PRO-NOM somewhere 3NEG=be-IPF.FUT-NEG
'They are nowhere.'

12. Complex sentences

This chapter deals with complex sentences and has five sections. The first section, 12.1, deals with adverbial clauses. Section 12.2 discusses purpose clauses. Section 12.3 treats complement clauses. Section 12.4 presents other clause linking. Section 12.5 is concerned with quotative clauses.

12.1. Adverbial clauses

Various strategies are used to mark adverbial support clauses. They are:

1. conjunction plus clause
2. head noun plus relative clause plus postposition
3. headless relative clause plus postposition
4. clause marked with conjunction plus postposition
5. head noun plus relative clause
6. headless relative clause

12.1.1. Conditional clauses

In the normal order of conditional clauses the supporting clause precedes the focus clause. The term "focus clause" is used for the clause that denotes the crucial and resulting state or activity; the term is taken from Dixon and Aikhenvald (2009) (see also Mous and Ongaye Oda (2009)). Affirmative supporting conditional clauses appear with various conjunctions. These conjunctions are **oo**/**ootoo**, **ka**/**kande** and **awta**. All these conjunctions occur with suffix **-n**, whose semantic value is not yet known to me (see also Ongaye (in press)). What is clear to me about this suffix, however, is that its occurrence with conjunctions makes subject clitics flexible. Furthermore, it does not allow the occurrence of the dependent clause marker **-o**. In the glossing, I use N to represent suffix **-n**. Negative conditionals are marked with the relative pronoun **a** and the conjunction **male** 'without' while concessive conditionals are marked with the conjunction **kande** 'if' and the adverb **punu** or **nefu** 'even'.

Focus (main) clauses do not have conjunctions or any particular suffixes that set them apart from supporting conditional clauses. However, a pause is required after the supporting clause when it precedes the focus clause, and when the subject clitic of the focus clause does not move to the supporting clause.

In the subsequent discussions, I present conditional sentences that express events that are likely to happen, events that are likely but not certain to happen, and events that are unlikely to happen. Furthermore, concessive conditionals are treated.

I begin with the discussion of conditional sentences which show the likelihood of the events in the focus clauses. Let us look at the examples in (1). In (1a), the first person subject clitic occurs with the conjunction **oo**. In both (1b) and (1c), the conjunction **oo** occurs with suffix **-n**. As a result of this suffix, the dependent clause marker **-o** disappears. The distinction between (1b) and (1c) is that in (1b) the first person subject clitic occurs with the conjunction whereas in (1c) it occurs with the verb. In all the examples, the dependent/support clauses precede the focus clauses. The example in (1d) is unacceptable because the subject clitic **in=** can only move to the verb if the conjunction contains the suffix **-n** in the support clause.

(1a) **oon ɗeyo, piifaasiʔ ʔinɗama**
oo=in *ɗey-o* *piifaa-siʔ*
if=1 come-DP.IPF.FUT lunch-DEF.M/F

in=ɗam-a
1=eat-IPF.FUT
'If I come, I will eat the lunch.'

(1b) **oonin ɗeya, piifaasiʔ ʔinɗama**
oo-n=in *ɗey-a* *piifaa-siʔ*
if-N=1 come.IPF.FUT lunch-DEF.M/F

in=ɗam-a
1=eat-IPF.FUT
'If I come, I will eat the lunch.'

(1c) **oon inɗeya, piifaasiʔ ʔinɗama**
oo-n *in=ɗey-a* *piifaa-siʔ*
if-N 1=come.IPF.FUT lunch-DEF.M/F

in=ɗam-a
1=eat-IPF.FUT
'If I come, I will eat the lunch.'

(1d) ***oo inɗeyo, piifaasiʔ ʔinɗama**
oo *in=ɗey-o* *piifaa-siʔ*
if 1=come-DP.IPF.FUT lunch-DEF.M/F

in=ɗam-a
1=eat-IPF.FUT
(intended: 'If I come, I will eat the lunch.')

Conditional sentences in which the speaker expresses that the event is likely but not certain to happen require the conditional conjunctions, except **kanɗe(n)**,

to occur with the suffix -**n**. The aspect in the support clause may be present imperfective (2a) or perfective (2b).

(2a) **oonin tikupa anni, inkil lela**
oo-n=in *tika-opa* *ʔan-ni,*
if-N=1 house-to go-IPF.PRES

in=ki-ʔ *lel-a*
1=you-DAT tell-IPF.FUT
'It is not yet certain to me whether I will go home, but if I decide to do so, I will let you know.'

(2b) **oonin urmalaapa aanay, sookittasin pidɗa**
oo-n=in *urmalaa-opa* *an-ay* ,
if-N=1 market-to go-PF[3M]

sookitta-siʔ=in *pidɗ-a*
salt-DEF.M/F=1 buy-IPF.FUT
'I'm not yet sure whether to go to market, but if I do go, I will buy the salt.'

Conditional clauses that express unlikely events occur with the conjunction **kandɛ(n)** and perfective aspect in the support clause. Here are some examples:

(3a) **kandɛe nama piisa ɗeyay, koɗaasiʔ ʔiɗikkaɗa**
kandɛ=i *nama* *piisa* *ɗey-ay,* *koɗaa-siʔ*
if=3 person all come-PF work-DEF.M/F

i=ɗikkaɗ-a
3=finish.MID-IPF.FUT
'If everybody came, the work would get finished.'

(3b) **kandɛn χormasin katay, kuuraaytin oorʃa**
kandɛ-n *χorma-si=in* *kat-ay,*
if-N ox-DEF.M/F=1 sell-PF

kuura-ayti=in *oor-ʃ-a*
debt-2.SG.POSS.SG=1 return-CAUS-IPF.FUT
'If I sold the ox, I would pay your debt.'

Conditional clauses that express unlikely events may also occur with a present imperfective aspect in the if-clause. In this case, only the conjunction **kandɛn** is used, as in (4).

(4a) **kanɗen piisantee ɗeʔni kawwattasiʔ ʔiɗikkatta**
kanɗe-n *piisante=i* *ɗey-ni*
if-N everyone=3 come-IPF.PRES

kawwatta-siʔ *i=ɗikkaɗ-t-a*
terrace-DEF.M/F 3=be.finished-3F-IPF.FUT
'It is certain that all of them are not coming, but if they did come, the terrace would get finished.'

(4b) **kanɗen tikupan kalay, iʃeenna inʔakka**
kanɗe-n *tika-opa=in* *kal-ay,*
if-N home-to=1 return.home-PF[3M]

iʃeenna *in=akk-a*
3SGF.PRO[ACC] 1=see-IPF.FUT
'It is certain that I won't go home, but if I did, I would see her.'

Nominal conditionals that express unlikely events (contrary to facts) are marked with the conjunction **kanɗen** and the nominal subject clitics **an=** for first persons, **aʔ=** second persons and **ø** for third persons, as in any other nominal clause. First and second person plurals require personal object pronouns in addition to the subject clitics. Some examples:

(5a) **kanɗen akkarmaa, keltaytasiɠ ɠapta**
kanɗe-n *ʔaʔ=karmaa,* *keltayta-siʔ=iʔ*
if-N 2=lion baboon-DEF.M/F=2

ɠap-t-a
catch-2-IPF.FUT
'If you (SG) were a lion, you (SG) would catch the baboon.'

(5b) **kanɗen karmaa, keltaytasiʔ ʔiɠapa**
kanɗe-n *karmaa,* *keltayta-siʔ* *i=ɠap-a*
if-N lion baboon-DEF.M/F 3=catch-IPF.FUT
'If he were a lion, he would catch the baboon.'

(5c) **kanɗen inoon χampiraa, moontannin hirra**
kanɗe-n *ʔino=in* *χampiraa,*
if-N we=-1 birds

moonta-nn=in *hir-n-a*
sky-INST=1 fly[PL]-PL-IPF.FUT
'If we were birds, we would fly in the sky.'

So far I have discussed affirmative conditionals. Below I discuss negative conditionals. Negative conditionals occur with the same conjunctions as the affirmative conditionals. A negative conditional with the meaning 'unless' has a different form, shown below. Negative conditionals require negative subject clitics, as in (6).

(6a) **oon urmalaapa ananneen kinnin kodaasin ki? ?iyyada**

oo-n	*urmalaa-opa*	*an=an-ni=an*	*kit-in*
if-N	market-to	1NEG=go-IPF-NEG	be-NEG

kodaa-si?=in	*ke-?*	*iyyad-a*
work-DEF.M/F=1	2SG.PRO.ACC-DAT	help-IPF.FUT

'I am not yet certain whether I go to market or not but if I do not go, I will help you with the work.'

(6b) **kande urmalaapa anaanin kodaasi? ?inki? ?iyyada**

kande-n	*urmalaa-opa*	*an=aan-in*
if-N	market-to	1NEG=go-NEG

kodaa-si?	*in=ki-?*	*iyyad-a*
work-DEF.M/F	1=2SG.PRO.ACC-DAT	help-IPF.FUT

'If I do not go to the market, I will help you with the work.'

A negative conditional with the meaning 'unless' has the relative pronoun **a** and the postposition **male** 'without'. The relative pronoun introduces headless relative clauses. Here are some examples:

(7a) **an iʃa akkinu male andeʔnu**

a=in	*iʃa*	*akk-n-u*
REL=1	3SGM.PRO[ACC]	see-1PL-NEG.IPF.FUT

male	*an=dey-n-u*
without	1NEG=come-1PL-NEG.IPF.FUT

'Unless we see him, we shall not come (back).'

(7b) **aa inun akkin male indeyan**

a=i	*inu=in*	*akk-n*
REL=3	1PL.PRO[ACC]=3NEG	see-P

male	*in=dey-a-n*
without	3NEG=come-IPF.FUT-P

'Unless they see us, they will not come (back).'

Concessive conditionals are marked with the conjunction **kande** 'if' and the adverb **punu** or **nefo** 'even'. Subject clitics are attached to **kande**. The conces-

sive conditional conjunction **kanɗe punu** may appear as discontinuous. This same conjunction and adverbs are also used to mark concessive clauses. The following are illustrative examples.

(8a) **kanɗee punu ɗeʔta ohtaisiʔ ʔiʃeennaʔ ʔanɗaaʃo**

kanɗe=i	*punu*	*ɗey-t-a*	*ohta-si?*
if=3	even	come-3F-IPF.FUT	cloth-DEF.M/F

iʃeenna-?	*an=ɗaaʃ-o*
3SGF.PRO[ACC]-DAT	1NEG=give-NEG.IPF.FUT

'Even if she comes, I will not give her the cloth.'

(8b) **kanɗeep punu ɗeʔtan anaaʔ ʔakkitan**

kanɗe=iʔ	*punu*	*ɗey-t-a-n*	*ana=aʔ*	*akk-t-a-n*
if=2	even	come-IPF	1SG.PRO.ACC=2NEG	see-IPF.FUT-P

'Even if you (PL) come, you (PL) will not see me.'

(8c) **kanɗee punu amma inɗeyin kuliʔ ʔiχoratta**

kanɗe=i	*punu*	*ʔamma*	*in=ɗey-i-n*
if=3	even	now	3NEG=come-PF-NEG

kuliʔ	*i=χoraɗ-t-a*
latter	3=be.fined-3F-IPF.FUT

'Even if she has not come now, she will be fined latter.'

A concessive clause is marked by the conjunction **kanɗe** 'if' and the adverbs **nefu/punu** 'even'. Subject clitics occur with **kanɗe** part of the conjunction. Here are some examples:

(9a) **kanɗeen nefu kaaʃaasiniɠ ɠapa iʃoonnaʔ ʔanɗaaʃu**

kanɗe=in	*nefu*	*kaaʃaa-siniʔ*	*ɠap-a*
if=1	even	money-DEF.P	have-IPF.FUT

iʃoonna-?	*an=ɗaaʃ-u*
3PL.PRO[ACC]-DAT	1NEG=give-NEG

'Even if I have the money, I will not give it to them.'

(9b) **namasik kanɗee punu ɗeyay χawwaʔteen aana**

nama-siʔ	*kanɗe=i*	*punu*	*ɗey-ay*
person-DEF.M/F	if=3	even	come-PF[3M]

χawwaʔte=in	*an-a*
alone=1	go-IPF.FUT

'Even if the person came, I would go alone.'

The concessive adverb **nefu** is different from **punu** in that the former may occur clause-finally. For example, in (10a), **kanɗe** and **nefu** occur contiguously while in (10b) **nefu** occurs clause-finally. This positional shift does not alter the semantics of the sentence. **kanɗe** and **nefu** do not exchange their positions, as doing so yields an ungrammatical sentence, as illustrated in (10c).

(10a) **kanɗeen nefu kaaʃaasiniᶢ ᶢapa iʃoonnaʔ ʔanɗaaʃu**
kanɗe=in *nefu* *kaaʃaa-sini?*
although=1 although money-DEF.P

ᶢap-a *iʃoonna-ʔ* *an=ɗaaʃ-u*
have-IPF.PRES they-DAT 1NEG=give-NEG
'Although I have the money, I will not give it to them.'

(10b) **kanɗeen kaaʃaasiniᶢ ᶢapa nefu iʃoonnaʔ ʔanɗaaʃu**
kanɗe=in *kaaʃaa-sini?* *ᶢap-a*
if=1 money-DEF.P have-IPF.PRES

nefu *iʃoonna-ʔ* *an=ɗaaʃ-u*
even 3PL.PRO[ACC]-DAT 1NEG=give-NEG
'Even if I have the money, I will not give it to them.'

(10c) ***punon kanɗe kaaʃaasiniᶢ ᶢapa iʃoonnaʔ ʔanɗaaʃu**
punu=in *kanɗe* *kaaʃaa-sini?* *ᶢap-a*
if=1 if money-DEF.P have-IPF.FUT

iʃoonna-ʔ *an=ɗaaʃ-u*
3PL.PRO[ACC]-DAT 1NEG=give-NEG
(intended: 'Even if I have the money, I will not give it for them.')

12.1.2. Temporal clauses

Temporal adverbial clauses are introduced by **awta** 'when', **oo** 'when, if', **ee/etee** 'when', or **a**.

The temporal adverbial conjunction **awta** 'when' may occur in the perfective as in (11a) or the imperfective as in (11b).

(11a) **awtan keeray, iniʃa ᶢaɗɗaapay**
awta=in *keer-ay* *in=ʔiʃa* *ᶢaɗɗaap-ay*
when=1 run-PF 1=3SGM.PRO.ACC catch.up.with-PF
'When I ran, I caught up with him.'

(11b) awtaa paritun oli akkina

awta=i	*par-it-u=in*	*oli*	*akk-n-a*
when=3	sunrise-3F-DP.IPF.FUT=1	REC	see-PL-IPF.FUT

'We will see each other when the sun rises.'

In temporal clauses, the conjunction oo may occur in the imperfective as in (12). Remember that this conjunction is basically a conditional conjunction, as discussed earlier.

(12a) oon kaaʃaasinit teyun kiɗ ɗaaʃa

oo=in	*kaaʃaa-sini?*	*tey-u=in*
when=1	money-DEF.P	obtain-DP.IPF.FUT=1

ki-?	*ɗaaʃ-a*
2SG.PRO.AC-DAT	give-IPF.FUT

'When/if I will obtain the money, I will give it to you (SG).'

(12b) oo atoota feyya? ʔawɗitee ɗehootaasiʔ ʔikokti

oo=i	*atoota*	*feyya-?*	*awɗi-t-i,*
when=3	sun	very.well-DAT	shine-3F-PF

ɗehoota-asi?	*i=kok-t-i*
malt-DEM.M/F	3=dry-3F-PF

'This malt dried when the sun shone very well.'

In the following examples, the conjunction ee/etee is used. It occurs only in the perfective as shown in (13).

(13a) een aanay χormasin akkay

ee=in	*ʔan-ay,*	*χorma-siʔ=in*	*akk-ay*
when=1	go-PF	ox-DEF.M/F=1	see-PF

'When I went there, I saw the ox.'

(13b) etee ɗeʔti maanaa koʔti

etee=i	*ɗey-t-i*	*maana=i*	*koɗ-t-i*
when=3	come-3F-PF	what=3	do-3F-PF

'What did she do when she came?'

The relative pronoun a also serves as a temporal clause marker. The following are illustrative examples.

(14a) a ɠoyra murriyon iʃa akkay

a=i	*ɠoyra*	*mur-niyo=in*
REL=3	tree	cut[SG]-IPF.PRES.3SGM=1

iʃa *akk-ay*
3SGM.PRO[ACC] see-PF[3M]
'I saw him while (he was) cutting a tree.'

(14b) **aχ χormasip piɗɗinittun ki akkay**
a=i? *χorma-si?* *piɗɗi-ni-ttu=in*
REL=3 ox-DEF.M/F buy[SG]-IPF.PRES-2=1

ki *akk-ay*
2SG.PRO.ACC see-PF[3M]
'I saw you (SG) while (you (SG) were) buying the ox.'

Temporal adverbial clauses may also occur with the relative pronouns **a** and the postposition **kammaa** as in (15a) or the conditional conjunction **oo** and the postposition **kammaa** as in (15b).

(15a) **an tika kayni kammaa roopa ipaayti**
a=in *tika* *kay-n-i* *kammaa*
REL=1 house reach-PL-PF after

roopa *i=paay-t-i*
rain 3=start-3F-PF
'It started to rain after we arrived home.'

(15b) **oon heeriya ɗikkiʃu kammaan ʃaɠaa ika**
oo=in *heer-iya* *ɗikkiʃ-u*
if=1 buy[PL]-NML finish-DP.IPF.FUT

kammaa=in *ʃaɠaa* *ik-a*
after=1 local.beer drink-IPF.FUT
'I will drink ʃaɠaa after I finish buying.'

12.1.3. Reason and result clauses

In this section, I discuss reason and result clauses together because of semantic relationships. Reason and result clauses are semantically related in that result (effect) is the outcome of reason (cause). Both reason and result clauses occur with the (possessive) noun **ɠoota** 'concerning/about' and **malla** 'because (of)' or the relative pronoun **a**. The morpheme **malla** occurs in the final position of the support clause. Here are some examples:

(16a) **attiɠ ɠootaap paaɠti malla antaa immalaalti**
atti-? *ɠoota=i?* *paaɠ-t-i*
2SG.PRO-NOM concerning=2 be.sick-2-PF

malla *an-taa* *i?=malaal-t-i*
because go-INF 2=be.unable.to-2-PF
'You (SG) could not go because you (SG) were sick.'

(16b) **alleetasi? ʔa tuuɗa kelaan kinnin mallaa piʔti**
alleeta-si? *a=i* *tuuɗa* *kela=in*
hut-DEF.M/F that=3 pillar under=3NEG

kit-ni-n *malla=i* *pi?-t-i*
be-IPF.PRES-NEG because=3 fall-3F-PF
'The hut collapsed because there is no pillar under it.'

The following are additional examples:

(17a) **hellaasiniᶢ ᶢootaa ʃarin mallaa ᶢiɗamin**
hellaa-sini? *ᶢoota=i* *ʃar-i-n*
children-DEF.P concerning=3 be.late-PF-P

mallaa *ᶢiɗ-am-i-n*
because flog-PAS-PF-P
'The children were flogged because they were late.'

(17b) **a piʔay mallaa harkaaɗi ᶢepay**
a *pi?-ay* *malla=i* *harka-aɗi* *ᶢep-ay*
REAS fall-PF REAS=3 hand-3SG.POSS.M/F break-PF[3M]
'He broke his hand because he fell (down).'

12.1.4. Purpose clauses

Purpose is expressed by the conjunction **akkaa** and the postposition **malla** as in (18a) or the relative pronoun **a** and the postposition **malla** as in (18b).

(18a) **ʔantiʔ ʔakkaan χorma piɗɗu mallan kaaʃaa kattanni**
anti-? *akkaa=in* *χorma*
1SG.PRO-NOM that=1 ox

piɗɗ-o *malla=in* *kaaʃaa*
buy[SG]-DP.IPF.FUT because=1 money

katt-aɗ-ni
collect-MID-IPF.PRES
'I am saving money in order to buy an ox.'

(18b) **antiʔ ʔan χorma pidɗu mallan kaaʃaa kattanni**
anti-ʔ *a = in* *χorma*
1SG.PRO-NOM that = 1 ox

pidɗ-u *malla = in* *kaaʃaa*
buy[SG]-DP.IPF.FUT because = 1 money

katt-aɗ-ni
collect-MID-IPF.PRES
'I am saving money in order to buy an ox.'

Purpose can also be expressed by using an infinitive or verbal noun with or without the dative case marker instead of a support clause. The following are illustrative examples.

(19a) **ɠimaytasiʔ ʔalleeta ɠupiya mallaa ɠoraa ɠuuray**
ɠimayta-siʔ *alleeta* *ɠup-iya* *malla = i*
old.man-DEF.M/F hut build-NMLZ because = 3

ɠoraa *ɠuur-ay*
trees cut[PL]-PF[3M]
'The old man cut trees in order to build a hut.'

(19b) **ɠimaytasiʔ ʔalleeta ɠupiyaʔe ɠoraa ɠuuray**
ɠimayta-siʔ *alleeta* *ɠup-iya-ʔ = i*
old.man-DEF.M/F hut build-VN-DAT = 3

ɠoraa *ɠuur-ay*
trees cut[PL]-PF[3M]
'The old man cut trees in order to build a hut.'
(lit.: The old man cut trees for building a hut.)

12.2. Complement clauses

Complement clauses occur with the complementisers **ine**, **seɗe** and **akkaa**. The complementisers **ine** and **seɗe** occur in the position after an overt subject, while the complementiser **akkaa** occurs in the object position. Details of higher predicates and their modality interpretations are examined in Ongaye (2004). The following are illustrative examples.

(20a) **Kussittus seɗee χorma pidɗaye ana χasayʃay**
Kussittu-ʔ *seɗe = i* *χorma*
Kussitto-NOM that = 3 ox

pidd-ay=i *ana* *χas-ayʃ-ay*
buy[SG]-PF=3 1SG.PRO.ACC please-CAUS-PF
'The fact that Kusitto bought an ox pleased me.'

(20b) **akkaan antiʔ ʔurmalaapa aanay iʃeennaʔ ʔidakayti**
akkaa=in *anti-ʔ* *urmalaa-opa*
that=1 1SG.PRO-NOM market-to

an-ay *iʃeenna-ʔ* *i=dakay-t-i*
go-PF[3M] 3SGF-PRO-NOM 3=hear-3F-PF
'She heard that I went to the market.'

(20c) **akkaaʔ ʔantin inupa**
akkaa=iʔ *aan-t-i-n* *in=up-a*
that=2 go-2-PF-P 1=know-IPF.FUT
'I know that you (PL) went.'

12.3. Other clause linking

12.3.1. Conjoined consecutive clauses

Conjoined consecutive clauses are marked by the conjunction **ka**, which is followed by an intonation break. This is shown below.

(21a) **inuʕ ʕoyrasim murri ka iʃan kalli**
inu-ʔ *ʕoyra-siʔ=in* *mur-n-i*
1PL.PRO-NOM tree-DEF.M/F=1 cut[SG]-1PL-PF

ka *iʃa-n* *kal-n-i*
and 3SGM.PRO[ACC]-INST come.home-1PL-PF
'We cut down the tree and brought it home.'

(21b) **iʃad dʃiluppupaa anay ka ʔunta pohay**
iʃa-ʔ *dʃila-oppupa=i* *an-ay* *ka*
3SGM.PRO-NOM field-into=3 go-PF[3M] and

unta *poh-ay*
crops harvest-PF[3M]
'He went to the field and harvested crops.'

Conjoined consecutive clauses that involve imperatives are also joined by the conjunction **ka**. Examples:

(22a) **χooya ka ɗakaɗoosinih haaɗa**
χooy-a *ka* *ɗakaɗaa-osini?* *haaɗ-a*
come-IMP.PL and stones-DEM.P carry-IMP.PL
'Come and carry these stones!'

(22b) **aani ka ɠayrasim muri**
an-i *ka* *ɠayra-si?* *mur-i*
go-IMP.SG and tree-DEF.M/F cut[SG]-IMP.SG
'Go and cut the tree!'

In chapter 4, I discussed that coordinated nouns can be combined with the conjunction **ka** or **iʃuʔ**. However, the use of the conjunction **iʃuʔ** instead of **ka** in consecutive clauses is not allowed, as demonstrated in (23).

(23a) ***inuɠ ɠoyrasim murri iʃuʔ ʔiʃan kalli**
inu-ʔ *ɠoyra-si?=in* *mur-n-i*
1PL.PRO-NOM tree-DEF.M/F=1 cut[SG]-PL-PF

iʃuʔ *iʃa-n* *kal-n-i*
and 3SGM.PRO[ACC]-INST return.home-1PL-PF
'We cut down the tree and brought it home.'

(23b) ***χooya iʃuɗ ɗakaɗoosinih haaɗa**
χooy-a *iʃuʔ* *ɗakaɗaa-osini?* *haaɗ-a*
come-IMP.PL and stones-DEM.P carry-IMP.PL
(intended: 'Come and carry these stones!')

12.3.2. Contrast

Contrast is expressed by **maa** or **umma**. The conjunction **maa** is most often adversative. The following are illustrative examples.

(24a) **iʔanti maa iɗapti**
i=an-t-i *maa* *i=ɗap-t-i*
3=go-3F-PF but 3=not.find-3F-PF
'She went (there) but could not find it.'

(24b) **ipiʔay maa immiiɗɗammi̥**
i=piʔ-ay *maa* *in=miiɗɗ-am-n-i*
3=fall-PF but 3NEG=hurt.SG-PAS-NEG-PF
'He fell but he is not hurt.'

(24c) **kahartannim maa lahaa patay**
kaharta-nnin *maa* *laha-a* *pat-ay*
ewe-NEG but ram-CLF disappear-PF[3M]
'It is not a ewe but a ram that went missing.'

In the following example, the conjunction **umma** is used.

(25) **iʃan asni umma ɗeʔninco**
iʃa=in *as-ni* *umma*
him=1 wait-IPF.PRES but

ɗey-ni-in=kiy-o
come-IPF.PRES-3NEG=be-NEG [3M]
'I am waiting for him but he does not come.'

In the following proverb, the coordinating conjunction **ka** expresses contrast rather than addition. The proverb is used when someone who is afraid of a stronger person (likened here with acacia species **kolalta**) threatens another less strong person (likened here with a thin plant species **seyta**).

(26) **kolal fuurʃaa ka seytan puta**
kolalta *fuur-ʃ-aa* *ka* *seyta-n*
acacia.species fear-DCAUS-VN and plant.species-INST

put-a
win-VN
'Fearful of kolalta but victorious over seyta.'

12.3.3. Alternatives

Alternatives are expressed by **-m** (27a) or the conjunction **taakine** 'or, otherwise' (27b).

(27a) **pilliyaasiʔ inɠeeɗam ayi**
pilliyaa-siʔ *in=ɠeeɗ-a-m* *ʔ*
knife-DEF.M/F 1=take-IPF.FUT-or here

in=ɗiiʃ-a
1=leave-IPF.FUT
'Shall I take the knife or leave it here?'

(27b) **urmalaapaʔ ʔanta taakine ɗiluppupan ollin sookanna**
urmalaa-opa=iʔ *an-t-a* *taakine*
market-to=2 go-2-IPF.FUT otherwise

ɗila-oppupa=in *ollin* *sookaɗ-n-a*
field-into=1 together go.to.field-1PL-IPF.FUT
'You (SG) will go to market. Otherwise we will go to the field together.'

A rejection type of alternative expression 'instead of/rather than' is marked by forms **a…kapaa** or an infinitive with **kapaa** or a verbal nominal with **kapaa**. With the conjunction **a…kapaa**, the subject clitic must occur with the **a**. The morpheme **kapaa** occurs in the final position of a dependent clause. There is a pause after the dependent clause. Here are some examples:

(28a) **an piʃaaʔ ʔaanu kapaa, ohaʔin aana**

a=in	*piʃaa-ʔ*	*ʔan-u*	*kapaa,*
instead.of=1	water-DAT	go-DP.IPF	instead.of

oha-ʔ=in	*an-a*
fodder-DAT=1	go-IPF.FUT

'Instead of going to fetch water, I will go collect fodder.'

(28b) **aʔ ʔessi ʔantu kapaa, aye muki ka parree paraan kedi**

a=iʔ	*essi*	*an-t-u*	*kapaa,*	*aye*
instead.of=2	this.time	go-2-DP.IPF	instead.of	here

muk-i	*ka*	*parree*	*paraa-n*
sleep-IMP.SG	and	tomorrow	morning-INST

ked-i
go.in.the.morning-IMP.SG
'Instead of going home at this time (of the day), spend the night here and go (there) tomorrow early in the morning.'

The alternative clause which is expressed by the use of the infinitive/verbal noun and **kapaa** requires the word **woyy-** 'be preferable' in the main clause. The verb root in the illustrative example in (29a) occurs with the infinitive suffix **-iya**, while the one in (29b) occurs with a verbal nominal suffix **-taa**.

(29a) **urmalaapa aaniya kapaa dilluppupa aaniyaa woyyi**

urmalaa-opa	*an-iya*	*kapaa*	*dila-oppupa*
market-to	go-VN	instead.of	field-into

an-iya=i	*woyy-i*
go-INF=3	be.good-PF

'It is better to go to the field than to go to the market.'

(29b) **urmalaapa antaa kapaa dilluppupa ʔaantaa woyyi**

urmalaa-opa	*an-taa*	*kapaa*	*dila-oppupa*
market-to	go-VN	instead.of	field-into

an-taa=i	*woyy-i*
go-VN=3	be.good-PF

'Going to the field is better than going to the market.'

It is possible for an infinitive and a verbal nominal to interchangeably occur in either clause. For example, in (30a), the first clause has an infinitive form while the second clause has a verbal nominal form. In (30b), the verbal nominal form occurs in the first clause while the infinitive form occurs in the second clause.

(30a) urmalaapa aaniya kapaa ɗiluppupa aantaa woyyi
urmalaa-opa *an-iya* *kapaa* *ɗila-oppupa*
market-to go-INF instead.of field-into

an-taa=i *woyy-i*
go-VN=3 be.good-PF
'To go to the field is better than going to the market.'

(30b) urmalaapa aantaa kapaa ɗiluppupa aaniyaa woyyi
urmalaa-opa *an-taa* *kapaa* *ɗila-oppupa*
market-to go-VN instead.of field-into

an-iya=i *woyy-i*
go-INF=3 be.good-PF
'Going to the field is better than to go to the market.'

12.4. Quotative clauses

Quoted clauses occur within the focus clause. They are headed by the verb kiɗ- 'say'. The example in (31a) uses direct reporting whereas the one in (31b) has an indirect report.

(31a) inatasiʔ ʔinkalaye kiʔti
inata-siʔ *in=kal-ay=i* *kiɗ-t-i*
girl-DEF.M/F 1=return.home-PF[3M]=3 say-3F-PF
'The girl said, "I came home."'

(31b) iʃeennaʔ ʔiʃaʔ ʔikalayee kiʔti
iʃeenna-ʔ *iʃa-ʔ* *i=kal-ay=i*
3SGF.PRO-NOM 3SGM.PRO-NOM 3=return.home-P=3

kiɗ-t-i=i
say-3F-PF=3
'She said that he had come home.'

13. Ideophones and interjections

This chapter describes the phonological and morphological characteristics as well as the metaphoric use of ideophones. It also presents the description and classification of interjections. Finally, it presents a brief description of greetings and leave-taking expressions.

13.1. Ideophones

All ideophones have closed syllables. Only short vowels occur in ideophones. Moreover, except for one instance (ɕumaʃ), all disyllabic ideophones have the same vowel in both syllables. In utterances, ideophones require the verb root kiɗ- 'say' to which inflectional as well as derivational suffixes are attached. For example, some ideophones occur only with the verb stem kiʔʃ- 'cause to say' <kiɗ-ʃ- say-DCAUS-> (see sentential examples in (5)). Ideophones denote a verbal action as well as the manner in which the action is done. In the following sub-sections, I present the phonological templates of ideophones, reduplication in ideophones, verbal and nominal derivations in ideophones and the metaphoric use of ideophones.

13.1.1. Phonological templates

Konso ideophones fall into CVC or CVCVC templates. The ideophones in (1) have a CVC template. Note that the lexical meanings of some ideophones appear similar but that in use there is subtle differences that distinguish their meanings.

(1)

pas	'to detach, break away; scatter'
pos	'to break into two pieces; emit light suddenly'
poʃ	'to break (e.g. head, calabash with water)'
pap	'to hit with a flat thing'
piw	'to disappear'
pup	'to blow'
paɗ	'to hit slightly'
paʃ	'to crash'
paʃ	'to break (e.g. calabash); bite into fatty meat'
peɗ	'to hit slightly'
peɕ	'to explode'
paw	'to fire a gun'
niɓ	'to hit heavily'
niɕ	'to choke'
maʃ	'to bite or smash a fatty thing'
moʃ	'to bite or smash a fatty thing'
maʃ	'to step heavily on something'
moχ	'to give a knock on the head'

miʃ	‘to urinate little due to fear, etc.’
moɕ	‘to knock on the head with the hand’
faʃ	‘to splash’
ful	‘to run away suddenly from a hideout’
fuɗ	‘to swell lightly’
ʃaɓ	‘to kiss’
ʃim	‘to stand firmly’
ʃir	‘to get out, shoot fast (e.g. snake, spear)’
ʃir	‘to slide’
ʃul	‘to give sharp smoke; have a sharp cough’
kir	‘to shock; shiver’
kaʃ	‘to have a feeling of sudden fear’
koʃ	‘to drop or step into dry fallen leaves’
kaʃ	‘to bite little; cut little’
kiw	‘to be stunned’
hin	‘to buzz’
lus	‘to insert easily; enter quickly’
las	‘to insert easily’
liɓ	‘to extinguish’
ɓaɓ	‘to kick’
ɓir	‘to become erect (e.g. penis); protrude from overeating (of the belly)’
ɓar	‘to break a piece of cloth at once’
tul	‘to fire a gun’
til	‘to hit with a fist’
tiw	‘to hit with a fist; fire a gun’
toʃ	‘to drip’
tuʃ	‘to pour fluid’
tiw	‘to gunshot; drop something heavy’
ɕaw	‘to hit with something hard’
ɕeŋ	‘to be naughty’
waχ	‘to hit something dry with a stick or piece of stone’
waɗ	‘to hit something’
waɕ	‘to hit with stone or a small stick’
wah	‘to slap’
war	‘to slap’
waʃ	‘to hit with a thin stick’
waχ	‘to open wide (e.g. legs)’
was	‘to open eyes widely and suddenly’
ɗas	‘to cut/break into two pieces’
ɗuɓ	‘to lash’
ɗuʃ	‘to shrink slowly’
ɗiʃ	‘to give a mild but quick pain’
ɗaʃ	‘to give a mild but quick pain’
ɗaʔ	‘to shoot with a stone; hit with stick’

The following ideophones have the **CVCVC** template.

(2)

kalaw	'to roll over'
kaʃar	'to bite little'
kiliw	'to roll over'
koʃor	'to clink'
kosoɓ	'to hop'
makal	'to slip through hand'
miɠir	'to be difficult to catch'
muɠur	'to be difficult to crush with the teeth'
meɗek	'to become weak after being stiff'
moχoɗ	'to become lame'
ʃiɠir	'to change position swiftly'
ʃipir	'to twist; wind quickly'
ʃakar	'to jump/run lightly'
piɟiw	'to clink'
piliɟ	'to flash light'
pikir	'to faint and drop on the ground'
ɠalaw	'to become pale'
ɠumaʃ	'to become crooked'
ʃapaɠ	'to splash'
ʃopoɠ	'to dip into water'
ʃoɠor	'to kick on the buttocks'
fuɠur	'to pull out tooth, piece of rock'
futuɠ	'to overflow'
futuk	'to suddenly run out in an ambush'
ɲakar	'to scratch with claws; shallow bite by animals'
tukur	'to snatch; take with force'
hapar	'to jump into a conversation'

A prolonged act of the ideophones with the CVC template is expressed by prolonging the articulation of the final consonant of the ideophone. The final consonants are continuants. Examples:

(3)

hurrr	'to make a continuous sound (e.g. by a thrown stone)'
ʃorrr	'to flow (pour) uninterruptedly'
ɗuʃʃʃ	'to shrink slowly'
lusss	'to get inserted steadily'
ʃulll	'to blow sharp smoke continuously'
hinnn	'to buzz around'

There are also ideophones with $CV_1C_2C_2V_1C_2C_2V_1C_2C_2$…. template. These ideophones show motion of many people or things. Also, sometimes the flow of floods is expressed with these ideophones.

(4) **mudɗudɗudɗ** ‘to rush or gash’
tittittitt ‘to rush’
χidɗidɗidɗidɗ ‘to rush; thunder’
tuttuttutt ‘to rush’
puppuppupp ‘to rush; strom’

13.1.2. Reduplication in ideophones

The ideophones we have seen in (1) and (2) show two types of reduplication: full and partial. Reduplication in ideophones expresses the intensity or repetition of the action expressed.

Both the **CVC** (5a-b) and **CVCVC** (5c-d) templates may show full reduplication.

(5a) **moχ moχ kiʔʃi**
moχ *moχ* *kiɗ-ʃ-i*
IDEO IDEO say-DACUS-IMP.SG
‘Knock on it a couple of times!’

(5b) **timpaasinit tiw tiwee kiʔni**
timpaa-sini? *tiw* *tiw=i* *kiɗ-ni*
drum-DEF.P IDEO IDEO=3 say-IPF.PRES
‘The drum is being beaten.’

(5c) **ʃalootaasik kalaw kalaw kiʔʃi**
ʃaloota-asi? *kalaw* *kalaw* *kiɗ-ʃ-i*
thread-DEM.M/F IDEO IDEO say-DCAUS-IMP.SG
‘Roll this thread!’

The following ideophone occurs only in the reduplicated form:

(6) **kuʃ kuʃ** ‘to murmur’

Partial reduplication is found only in disyllabic ideophones. There are two interesting aspects of partial reduplication in disyllabic ideophones: first, the part of the ideophone that is reduplicated and, second, the direction of reduplication. In disyllabic ideophones, it is the **CVC** syllable of the **CVCVC** that is reduplicated, and the direction of reduplication is rightwards. This rightward reduplication is in opposition to the reduplication pattern in verbs (6.1.5) and adjectives (7.2). Below are demonstrative examples:

(7)	**kalawlaw**	from	**kalaw**	'to roll over'
	miɢirɢir	from	**miɢir**	'to be difficult to catch'
	meɗekɗek	from	**meɗek**	'to become weak after being stiff'
	piʃiwʃiw	from	**piʃiw**	'to clink'
	ɢumaʃmaʃ	from	**ɢumaʃ**	'to become crooked'

Dhoorre and Tosco (1998:127) have also reported the rightward reduplication of the CV part of the second syllable in Somali ideophones.

Disyllabic ideophones make semantic distinctions when they are derived or underived. These are shown below:

- Simple (underived) disyllabic ideophones indicate a single (punctual) action (8a);
- Full reduplication of disyllabic ideophones indicates that the action is done randomly or at a longer duration due to the size (big) or weight (heavy) of an object (8b);
- Partial reduplication in disyllabic ideophones indicates that the action is done very quickly. It shows a sense of urgency or small size or light weight (8c).

(8a) **kalaw**
IDEO
'Roll over'

(8b) **kalaw kalaw**
IDEO IDEO
'roll over and over'

(8c) **kalaw-law**
IDEO-RDP
'roll over and over very quickly'

The following ideophone makes four semantic distinctions on the basis of re-duplication and gemination.

(9)	**piliʃ**	'a spark of light (e.g. lightning, gunfire)'
	piliʃ piliʃ	'a few sparks of light or at some intervals'
	piliʃliʃ	'sparks of light at a fast rate'
	pilliiʃ	'a spark of light for a brief duration'

13.1.3. Verbal derivation in ideophones

Some ideophones can be transitivised by adding the causative suffix **-ʃ**. The addition of the causative suffix geminates the final consonant of the ideophone. The following are illustrative examples:

(10) **tiwwiʃ** 'to drop something heavy; fire a gun'
niɓɓiʃ 'to hit drop something heavy'
niɠʛĩʃ 'to hit very hard'
wahhiʃ 'to slap'
waɟɟiʃ 'to hit with a small stick'
ɓaɓɓiʃ 'to hit heavily'
fulliʃ 'to make leave a hideout'

Ideophones can also be transitivised by adding the causative suffix to the accompanying verb **kiɗ-** 'say'. This is exemplified in (11).

(11a) **tiw kiʔʃi**
tiw *kiɗ-ʃ-i*
IDEO say-DCAUS-IMP.SG
'Drop it (on the group)!'
'(You (SG)) Shoot it!'
tiw 'to drop something heavy; gunshot'

(11b) **kalaw kiʔʃi**
kalaw *kiɗ-ʃ-i*
IDEO say-DCAUS-IMP.SG
'(You (SG)) Make it roll!'
kalaw 'to roll over'

The verb root **kiɗ-** 'to say' may occur with more than one derivational suffix. For instance, in the following example, it occurs with the causative and the middle suffixes.

(12a) **tul kiʔsaɗu**
tul *kiɗ-ʃ-aɗ-u*
IDEO say-DCAUS-MID-IMP.SG
'(You (SG)) Smoke it for yourself!'
tul 'to fire a gun'

13.1.4. Nominal derivation in ideophones

Nominals may be derived from ideophones. For disyallbic ideophones, the nominal derivation involves the reduplication of the CVC before adding a nominal suffix. The nominal suffixes are **-a** (M/F) and **-aa**(P). The following are illustrative examples.

(13)	**toʃaa**	'water droplets'	< **toʃ** 'to drip'
	ʃakarkara	'careless person'	< **ʃakar** 'to carelessly do'
	haparpara	'care free'	< **hapar** 'to be care free' >
	miɠirɠira	'one with unpredictable personality'	< **miɠir** 'to be unpredictable'

13.1.5. Metaphoric use of ideophones

Some ideophones are also used metaphorically in Konso. Below, I give some illustrative examples:

(14a) **inantaasiw waa a ʃakkaaɠ ɠuɗaa ɠumaʃ kiʔni**

inanta-asi?	*waa*	*a*	*ʃakk-aa?*	*ɠuɗaa=i*
girl-DEM.M/F	thing	REL	be.small-P	on=3

ɠumaʃ *kiɗ-ni*
IDEO say-IPF.PRES
'The girl gets angry with anything small.'
ɠumaʃ 'to crook'

(14b) **ɠimaytasik kalawee kiɗay**

ɠimayta-si?	*kalaw=i*	*kiɗ-ay*
old.man-DEF.M/F	IDEO=3	say-PF

'The old man died suddenly.'
kalaw 'to roll over'

(14c) **ɠimaytasit torraasinee a feyyaaʔe ʃipir kiʔʃay**

ɠimayta-si?	*torraa-sine*	*a*
old.man-DEF.M/F	discussion-DEF.P	REL

feyyaa-ʔ=i	*ʃipir*	*kiɗ-ʃ-ay*
well-DAT=3	IDEO	say-DCAUS-PF

'The old man spoiled a healthy discussion.'
ʃipir 'to twist quickly'

(14d) **waasiniʔ ʔipoʃ kiʔʃay**

waa-sini?	*i=poʃ*	*kiɗ-ʃ-ay*
thing-DEF.P	3=IDEO	say-DCAUS-PF

'He disclosed the secret.'
poʃ 'to break'

(14e) **sereerutaa kamman ʃir kiʔni**

sereeruta-a	*kamma-n*	*ʃir*	*kiɗ-ni*
diarrhoea	behind-PATH	IDEO	say-IPF.PRES

'He is having explosive diarrhoea.'
ʃir 'to get out fast'

(14f) **kallaataayʃuʔ ʔiliɓ kiʔti**
kallaata-ayʃuʔ *i=liɓ* *kiɗ-t-i*
living-3PL.POSS.M/F 3=IDEO say-3F-PF
'Their familyhood collapsed.'
liɓ 'to extinguish'

13.2. Interjections

Following Ameka (1992), I classify Konso interjections into three: expressive interjections, conative interjections and phatic interjections

13.2.1. Expressive interjections

Expressive interjections express the speaker's emotions or sensations at the time of utterance. Below, I provide translations and, where possible, the contexts in which they are used. However, I do not claim that the contexts of use mentioned here are complete.

(15)

haa(ʔee)/hinee(yyee)	'What happened was that…..' 'What I want to say is that….' 'The case is that….'
weʔe	'Oh, my goodness!' 'Oh, really?'
aχ(χay)	'I am disgusted by that.' 'I am serious/Come what may.'
iɸɸ	'It stinks (of a fart or bad smell).'
uh	'It's painful/hurting.' 'It's heavy.' 'I feel tired.'
aayyi	'Ouch!' (<**aayyaa** 'mother'>)
huu	'Wow!' 'It's incredible!'
atum	'I disapprove it (used by women).' 'Shut up (used by women)!
waappu	'I do not believe you.' 'It's surprising!'
uu(h)	'It is very great.' 'It is very difficult.'

The following are illustrative examples:

(16a) **uu inansiʔ ʔikokkooki**
uu *inanta-asiʔ* *i=kokkook-i*
INTERJ girl-DEM.M/F 3=be.strong-PF
'Wow, this girl is strong!'

(16b) **uu aappoosiʔ ʔineeɠi**
uu *aappaa-osiʔ* *i=neeɠ-i*
INTERJ father-DEM.M/F 3=be.bad-PF
'Oh, this man is dangerous!'

The following is a phrasal expressive interjection:

(17) **awwee ɗeʔta (ha)**
awwi=i *ɗey-t-a* *(ha)*
today=3 come-3F-IPF.FUT (INTERJ)
'I'm telling you that I did not do it.'
'It's unbelievable.'
(lit.: It will come today.)

13.2.2. Conative interjections

The conative interjection used as a response to calls is **ee** 'yes!'. It is used equally by all people irrespective of age, gender and social status.

Conative interjections that demand an action from the hearer are expressed by the verb root **ɗiiʃ-** 'to stop'. They are like imperatives, distinguishing singular hearer and plural hearer.

(18) **ɗiiʃi** 'You (SG) stop what you are doing!'
ɗiiʃa 'You (PL) stop what you are doing!'

The following interjections are used to present something to someone:

(19) **hinɗo** 'You (SG), here you are!'
hinɗa 'You (PL), here you are!'

The verb root **ɠap-** 'hold, catch' is also used as a presentational expression as shown below:

(20) **aypa ɗesa ɠapi**
aye-opa *ɗesa* *ɠap-i*
here-to there hold-IMP.SG
'You (SG), here you are!'

The other type of conative interjection is that used to summon or disperse animals. The following are used to summon animals:

(21)	**heeʃ**	call to a dog
	tuktuktuk	call to chicken
	meʔeʔeʔ	call to a goat
	maʔaʔaʔ	call to a sheep
	aturr	call to a cat < **aturraata** 'cat' >
	umpʷaaa	call to a cow/ox/bull

The following conative interjections, in contrast, are used to disperse or chase animals:

(22)	**saay**	to disperse birds
	enaɕ	to chase away a sheep
	laɕ	to chase away a ram
	usuk	to chase away a goat
	usss	to chase away goats/sheep
	heecc	to chase away cows/oxen
	ʃok	to chase away (a) donkey(s)
	luk	to disperse chickens < **lukkalitta** 'chicken'
	tapay	to chase away (a) rat(s) < **tapayta** 'rat'
	kut	to chase away a dog < **kuta** 'dog'

13.2.3. Phatic interjections

The following expression is used to welcome someone who arrives from the field, a market or a trip.

(23) **okaaɗu** 'welcome!'

The following phatic interjection is used to reject what someone has said and indicate that the addressee is expected to stop talking about the subject.

(24) **eʃ** 'I am disgusted by what you said and I want you to stop talking about this'

13.3. Greetings and leave-taking expressions

13.3.1. Greetings

In this section, general greetings and leave-taking expressions are discussed. General greetings, greetings used in the morning, during the daytime, in the evening and greetings used upon entering someone's compound/house are presented.

The interrogative word **atta** ‘how?’ is used in most greetings.

General greetings are expressed with the words **nakaytaa** ‘health, peace’ and **atta** ‘how?’. These words may be used separately or in combination. The verb root **ʃapaad-** ‘be strong’ is also used in general greetings. Interrogative suffixes are added to **nakaytaa** or to **ʃapaad-**. Moreover, rising intonation is used. There are two words that are used as a polite form of greeting between men: **innayti** and **sakni**. These words are used only with **nakaytaa** ‘health, peace’ or **atta** ‘how?’.

The following are the most common/general greetings in Konso:

(25a) **nakaytaa**
health.Q
‘How are you?’
(lit.: Is it peace/health?)

(25b) **nakaytaa-wwee**
health-only.Q
‘How are you?’
(lit.: Is it only peace/health?)

(25c) **atta nakaytaa**
how health.Q
‘How are you?’

(25d) **atta nakaytaa-wwee**
how health-only.Q
‘How are you?’
(lit.: Is it only peace/health?)

(25e) **iʃʃapaannee**
i?=ʃapaad-ni=e
2=be.strong-IPF.PRES-Q
‘How are you?’
(lit.: Are you (SG) strong?)

(25f) **atta iʃʃapaannee**
atta i?=ʃapaad-ni=e
how 2=be.strong-IPF.PRES-Q
‘How are you?’

(25g) **nakaytaa sakni**
health my.friend.M
‘How are you doing, my friend?’

(25h) **atta innayti**
how my.friend.M
'How are you doing, my friend?'

Proper names may also occur in greetings. They may occur sentence-initially as in (26) or finally as in (27).

(26a) **kappooli atta**
kappoole how
'Kappoole, how are you?'

(26b) **kappooli nakaytaa-wwee**
kappoole health-only.Q
'Kappoole, how are you doing?'

(26c) **kappooli atta nakaytaa-wwee**
kappoole how health-only.Q
'Kappoole, how are you doing?'

(27a) **atta Kappooli**
how Kappoole
'How are you, Kappoole?'

(27b) **nakaytaa-wwee Kappooli**
health-only.Q Kappoole
'How are you doing, Kappoole?'

(27c) **atta nakaytaa-wwee Kappooli**
how health-only.Q Kappoole
'How are you doing, Kappoole?'

Greetings used when entering someone's compound/house are expressed using the noun **hallaa** 'children'. The plural gender vocative suffix **-y** is added to **hellaa**. The word **hellaay** may be used alone as in (28a) or with the greeting forms of the time of the day of conversation, as in (28b-d).

(28a) **hellaa-y**
children-VOC.P
'Hi everyone!' (i.e. Is there anybody there?)

(28b) **hellaay iχχaʔtinee**
hellaa-y *iʔ=χaʔ-t-i-n-ee*
children-VOC.P 2=stand.up-2-PF-P-Q
'Hi everyone! Good morning.'

(28c) **hellaay iʔʔooltinee**
hellaa-y *iʔ=ʔool-t-i-n-ee*
children-VOC.P 2=spend.day-2-PF-PL-Q
'Hi everyone! Good afternoon/evening.'

(28d) **hellaay attaʔ ʔooltin**
hellaa-y *atta=iʔ* *ool-t-i-n*
children-VOC.P how=2 spend.day-2-PF-PL
'Hi everyone! Good afternoon/evening.'
(lit.: Hi Children! How did you (PL) spend the day?)

In the above examples, **hellaay** occurs initially. However, it is equally possible to have it finally, as in (29).

(29a) **iχχaʔtinee hellaay**
iʔ=χaʔ-t-i-n-ee *hellaa-y*
2=stand.up-2-PF-PL-Q children-VOC.P
'Good morning everyone.'

(29b) **iʔʔooltinee hellaay**
iʔ=ʔool-t-i-n-ee *hellaa-y*
2=spend.day-2-PF-PL-Q children-VOC.P
'Good afternoon/evening everyone.'

The following greeting expression is also used when entering someone's compound/house. It usually implies that the person entering the compound/house has not visited the addressee(s) for some time.

(30) **hellay maanak koʔnittan**
hella-y *maana=iʔ* *kod-ni-ttan*
children-VOC.P what=2 do-IPF.PRES-PL
'Hello! What are you doing?'
(lit.: Hi, children! What are you in?)

Greetings in the morning involve the verb root **χaʔ-** 'rise'. The following are illustrative examples.

(31a) **iχχaʔtinee**
iʔ=χaʔ-t-i-n-ee
2=rise-2-PF-PL-Q
'Good morning.'
(lit.: Did you (PL) rise?)

(31b) **attaχ χaʔtin**
atta=ʔ *χaʔ-t-i-n*
how=2 rise-2-PF-P
'Good morning.'
(lit.: 'How did you (PL) rise?')

(31c) **iχχaʔtee innayti**
iʔ=χaʔ-t-i-ee *innayti*
2=rise-2-PF-Q my.friend.M
'Good morning, my friend.'
(lit.: 'Did you (SG) rise, my friend?'

(31d) **attaχ χaʔti ʔinnayti**
atta=iʔ *χaʔ-t-i* *innayti*
how=2 rise-2-PF my.friend.M
'Good morning, my friend.'
(lit.: How did you (SG) rise, my friend?'

Greetings require knowledge of social relationships for addressing people. These terms appear in their vocative form and may occur sentence-initially or finally.

(32)	**aappu**	'father'	< **aappaa** 'father'
	apuyya	'uncle'	< **apuyyaata** 'uncle'
	maamma	'aunt'	< **maammata** 'aunt'
	aakka	'grandfather'	< **aakkaa** 'grandfather'
	ʔaayyi	'mother'	< **aayyaa** 'mother'
	okkooyyu	'grandmother'	< **okkooyyita** 'grandmother'
	aappula (M)	'cousin (maternal aunt)'	< **aappulayta**
	aʃumu	'nephew (sister's son)'	< **aʃuma**
	aʃumta	'nephew (sister's daughter'	< **aʃumta**

The following are illustrative examples:

(33a) **aappu** **atta** **nakaytaa**
father.VOC.M/F how health
'How are you doing, daddy?'

(33b) **atta** **nakaytaa-wee** **aappu**
how health-only.Q father.VOC
'How are you, daddy?'

(33c) **aappu** **atta** **nakaytaa-w-ee**
father.VOC how health-only-Q
'Daddy, how are you?'

Both **inanta** 'girl' and **tuparaa/tuparraa** 'girls' may be used as vocatives when addressing a girl that someone does not know by name. However, the use of **inanta** 'girl' implies impoliteness or contempt, as in (34a), whereas **tuparaa/tuparraa** 'girls' carries with it politeness, as in (34b). When the addressee is plural (girls), then, the plural vocative marker **-y** is added to **tuparaa/tuparraa** 'girls', as shown in (34c).

(34a) **inanta, tika a Ongayi aχaamu**
girl house POSS Ongaye which
'Hey, girl! Which house is Ongaye's?'

(34b) **tuparaa, tika a Ongayi aχaamu**
girls house POSS Ongaye which
'Hey, girl! Which house is Ongaye's?'

(34c) **tuparaa-y tika a Ongayi aχaamu**
girls-VOC.PL house POSS Ongaye which
'Hey, girls! Which house is Ongaye's?'

The plural **tuparradɗaa** <**tuparraa** 'girls'> is used to praise a girl who has done a good job. Similarly, **hamiyyadɗaa** <**hamiya** 'male child', **hamiyyaa** 'male children'> is used to praise a boy who has done something very well. In both cases, the plural morpheme **-dɗaa** does not express plurality in these uses. In the following example, after hearing the report of the daughter that she fetched water twice (35a) the mother praises her daughter as in (35b).

(35a) **aayyee! piʃaasinil lakkin ooray**
aayyee! *piʃaa-sinʔ* *lakki=in* *oor-ay*
mammy! water-DEF.P two=1 return-PF[3M]
'Hi Mammy! I fetched the water twice.'

(35b) **tuparradɗaa**
girls
'Well done!'

When entering into somebody's house, the use of the plural vocative suffix **-y** is added to **hellaa** 'children'<**hellaa-y** 'children-VOC.PL'> 'Hey! Anybody there?' is the most common form to ask if there is anybody there in the house or to let a family member(s) know that you are coming in. The word **toola** 'family' is also common in this context but it does not occur with the vocative suffix.

13.3.2. Leave-taking

We distinguish a short and long/indefinite time leave-taking. The short time leave-taking is for the day of conversation or a few days after that. Such leave-taking can further be divided into a daytime and an evening/night time of the day of conversation. The verb root **ool-** 'spend day(s)' is used in leave-taking. The word **nakaytaa** 'health, peace' is used with the instrumental case suffix **-n(n)** accompanying the verb root **ool.**

The following are examples of leave-taking during the daytime:

(36a) **oolla**
ool-n-a
spend.day-1PL-OPT
'Have a good day.'
(lit.: 'May we have a good day.')

(36b) **nakaytan oolla**
nakayta-n *ool-n-a*
health-INST spend.day-1PL-OPT
'Have a good day!'
(lit.: 'May we spend the day with health/peace!')

The following are examples of leave-taking in the evening/night:

(37a) **muk-n-a**
sleep-1PL-OPT
'May we sleep.'

(37b) **nakayta-n muk-n-a**
health-INST sleep-1PL-OPT
'May we sleep in peace!'
(lit.: 'May we sleep with health!')

The following are leave-taking for a longer period:

(38a) **oppa oolla**
oppa *ool-n-a*
in spend.day-1PL-OPT
'May you have a good day.'

(38b) **oppa ƛaa?i-n-a**
in sit.down-1PL-OPT
'May you stay in peace.'

Enquiring the well-being of somebody else is expressed by mentioning the name of the person whose well-being is requested, followed by the postpositional phrase **maanaappaa** <**maana-oppaa** what-in> and the existential verb root **kiy-**. Examples:

(39a) **kappoolim maanaappaa ca**
kappooli-ʔ *maana-oppaa=i* *kiy-a*
kappoole-NOM what-in=3 be-IPF.PRES
'How is kappoole doing?'
(lit.: What is kappoole in?)

(39b) **hellaatti maanaappaa can**
hellaa-tti *maana-oppaa=i*
children-2SG.POSS.P what-in=3

kiy-a-n
be-IPF.FUT-P
'How are your children?'
(lit.: What are your children in?)

14. Texts

In this chapter, I provide two transcribed and glossed stories. The first text is the story Teekoole's son's bag, and the second is a story about a second wife. In both texts I use a four-line transliteration: in the first line I represent the Konso sentence as it is recorded, in the second line I indicate morpheme boundaries, in the third line I give translation of lexemes and glossing of grammatical morphemes, in the fourth line I give a free translation of the whole sentence. Both stories were told by my grandmother.

14.1. Text 1: ɲolaa a innaá Teekoolí?[14]
Teekoole's Son's Bag

001 **χattaa ki?ni ka innaa Teentooli iʃu? ?innaa Teekooli ka ollin okkaá ɗawwini.**

χatta=i	*kiɗ-ni*	*ka*	*innaá*	
long.time.ago=3	say-IPF.PRES	and	child.GEN	
a	*Teentooli*	*iʃu?*	*innaa*	*a*	*Teekooli*
GEN	Teentoole	and	child.GEN	GEN	Teekoole
ka	*okkaá=i*	*olli-n*	*ɗaww-ni.*		
and	cattle.ACC=3	together-INST	herd-IPF.PRES		

'It is said that long time ago, a child of a rich family and a child of a poor family herded cattle together.'

002 **innaá Teekooli ɲolaá ɠapanee kiini.**

innaá	*a*	*Teekooli*	*ɲolaá=3*
child.GEN	GEN	Teekoole	bag.ACC=3
ɠap-a-n=i	*kiɗ-ni.*		
have-IPF.FUT-P=3	say-IPF.PRES		

'It is said that the poor family's child had a bag.'

003 **oo kayti kuyyaʔta takkaayye, innaá Teentooli ka innaá Teekoolik kiɗaye, 'aani ka okkayaa oorʃi!'**

oo	*kay-t-i*	*kuyyaʔta*	*takka-ayye,*
when	reach-3F-PF	day	one.F-BKGRD
innaá	*Teentooli*	*ka*	*innaá*
child.GEN	Teentoole	and	child.GEN

[14] The major characters in this story are Teekoole's son and Teentoole's son. The word **teekoole** is derived from the verb root **teek-** 'to be poor' whereas the word **teentoole** is derived from the noun **teenta/teyanta** 'wealth'.

Teekooli-ʔ	*kiɗ-ay-e,*	*ʻaan-i*	*ka*
Teekoole-DAT	say-PF[3M]-BKGRD	go-IMP.SG	and

okkayaa	*oor-ʃ-i!ʼ*
cattle	return-DCAUS-IMP.SG

‘One day, Teentoole’s boy ordered Teekoole’s boy, saying, “Go and drive the cattle back!”’

004 **innaá Teekooli ka kiinee ‘inʔoorʃama hinɗo ka ɲolaayyu asseeyiᶢ ᶢapi anka aano oorʃu.’**

innaá	*a*	*Teekooli*	*ka*
child.GEN	GEN	Teekoole	and

kiɗ-ni-e	*ʻin=oor-ʃ-a-ma*
say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD	1=return-DCAUS-IPF.FUT-but

hinɗ-o	*ka*	*ɲolaa-yyu*
here.you(SG).are-VOC.SG	and	bag-1SG.POSS.M/F

assi-aye-ʔ	*ᶢap-i*	*an=ka*	*aan-o*
like.this-here-LOC	hold-IMP.SG	1=and	go-DP

oor-ʃ-u.ʼ
return-DCAUS-OPT

‘Then Teekoole’s son said to Teentoole’s son, “I will drive the cattle back but hold my bag and let me go and drive [them] back.”’

005 **innaasineé Teekooli ka okkayaasiniʔ ʔoorissaʔ ʔaanin.**

innaa-siniʔ-é	*a*	*Teekooli*	*ka*
child-DEF.P-BKGRD.GEN	GEN	Teekoole	and

okkayaa-siniʔ	*oor-ʃ-ta-ʔ*	*aan-i-n.*
cattle-DEF.P	return-DCAUS-VN-DAT	go-PF-P

‘And the child of the poor family went to drive the cattle back.’

006 **oo tiitaaway iʔinnaá Teekoolik kiinee ‘ɲolaayyu ɗaaʃi!’**

oo	*tiitaaw-ay*	*i=innaá*	*Teentooli-ʔ*
when	return-PF[3M]	3=child.GEN	Teekoole-DAT

kiɗ-ni-e	*ʻɲolaa-yyu*	*ɗaaʃ-i!ʼ*
say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD	bag-1SG.POSS.M/F	give-IPM.SG

‘When Teekoole’s boy returned, he said to the rich family’s child, “Give my bag back!”’

007 *ikiine innaá Teentooli ka kiinee 'ayen can.'*

i=kiɗ-ni-e	*innaá*	*a*	*Teentooli*
3=say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD	child.GEN	GEN	Teentoole

ka	*kiɗ-ni-e*	*'aye=in*
and	say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD	here=3NEG

kiy-a-n.'
be-IPF.FUT-P
'It is said that Teentoole's boy said, 'It is not here.''

008 ikka kiinee 'ayʃupaa tayin?'

ikka	*kiɗ-ni-e*	*'ayʃa*	*ʔopa=i*	*t"*	*ay-i-n?'*
and.3	say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD	where	to=3	go.away-PF-P	

'And [Teekoole's son] said, "Where has it gone?'

009 innaá Teentooli ka ayen can

innaá	*a*	*Teentooli*	*ka*
child.GEN	GEN	Teentole	and

kiɗ-ni-e	*'aye=in*	*kiy-a-n.'*
say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD	here=3NEG	be-IPF.FUT-P

'And Teekoole's child said, "It is not here."'

010 ooree innaasineé Teekooli imiiroodin ka a Orrotá? ʔopa keerinee kiini.

ooree	*innaa-sini?-é*	*a*	*Teekooli*
then	child-DEF.P-BKGRD.GEN	GEN	Teekoole

i=miirood-i-n	*ka*	*a*	*Orrotá-ʔ*
3=be.angry-PF-P	and	GEN	Orrota-GEN

opa	*keer-i-n=i*	*kiɗ-ni.*
to	run[PL]-PF-P=3	say-IPF.PRES

'Then, Teekoole's son got angry and ran to Orrota's house.'

011 'Orrota! Orrota!'
Orrota! Orrota!
'[And he said,] Orrota! Orrota!'

012 *ikka kiinee 'Ooy!'*

ikka	*kiɗ-ni-e*	*'Ooy!'*
and.3	say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD	'yes!'

'And [the Orrota] said "Yes!"'

013 ikka kiinee ‘χooyee talaá Teentooli poki poki.’
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *‘χooy-i-e*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD come-IMP.SG-BKGRD

talaá *a* *Teentooli* *pok-i*
goats.GEN GEN Teentoole shoot.PL-IMP.SG

pok-i.’
shoot.PL-IMP.SG
‘And he said, “Come and shoot Teentoole’s son’s goats!”’

014 Orrotak kiinee ‘opa Teentooli maanaa koɗin?’
Orrota-ʔ *kiɗ-ni-e* *‘opa* *Teentooli*
Orrota-NOM say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD ASS Teentoole

maanaa *koɗ-i-n?’*
what do-PF-P
‘Orrota said, “What have Orrota and his mates done?”’

015 ikka kiinee ‘ɲolaa innaá Teekoolee paʃin.’
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *‘ɲolaa* *a* *innaá*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD bag GEN child.GEN

Teekooli=i *paʃ-i-n.’*
Teekoole=3 lose-PF-P
‘And he said, “He has lost Teekoole’s son’s bag.”’

016 ikka kiinee ‘intiitay.’
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *‘in=tiit-ay.’*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD 1=refuse-PF[3M]
‘And he said, “[Sorry] I am not coming.”’

017 ikiinee ikka a Apitta? ʔopa keeray ka ‘Apitta! Apitta!’ kiɗay
i=kiɗ-ni-e *ikka* *a* *Apitta-ʔ*
3=say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD and.3 GEN fire-LOC

opa *keer-ay* *ka* *‘Apitta!* *Apitta!’* *kiɗ-ay*
to run[SG]-PF[3M and Fire! Fire say-PF[3M]
‘And he ran to Fire’s house and said, “Fire! Fire!”’

018 ikka kiinee ‘Ooy. Ooy.’
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *‘Ooy. Ooy.’*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Yes! Yes!
‘And [the fire] said, “Yes! Yes!”’

019 **ikka kiinee ‘χooyi ka mana Orrootak kupi kupi!.’**
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *‘χooy-i* *ka*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD come-IMP.SG and

mana *Orroota-ʔ* *kup-i* *kup-i!.’*
house Orroota-GEN burn-IMP.SG burn-IMP.SG
‘And he said, “Come and burn Orroota’s house!”’

020 **ikka kiinee ‘Orroota maanaa koʔti?’**
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *‘Orroota* *maana=i*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Orroota what=3

koɗ-t-i?’
do-3F-PF
‘And he said, “What has Orroota done?”’

021 **ikka kiinee ‘talaá Teentooli pokiyaa tiitti.’**
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *‘talaá*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD goats.GEN

a *Teentooli* *pok-iyaa* *tiit-t-i.’*
GEN Teentoole shoot-VN refuse-3F-PF
‘And he said, “They refused to shoot Teentoole’s goats.”’

022 **ikka kiinee ‘opa Teentooli maanaa koɗin?’**
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *‘opa* *Teentooli*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD ASS Teentoole

maana=i *koɗ-i-n?’*
what=3 do-PF-P
‘And he said, “What have Tentoole and his mates done?”’

023 **ikka kiinee ‘ɲolinnaá Teekoolee paʃʃin.’**
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *‘ɲolaa* *a*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD bag GEN

innaá *Teekooli=i* *paʃʃ-i-n.’*
child.GEN Teekoole=3 loss-PF-P
‘And he said, “He lost Teekoole’s son’s bag.”’

024 **ikka kiinee ‘intiitay.’**
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *‘in=tiit-ay.’*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD 1=refuse-PF[3M]
‘And he said, “[Sorry] I am not coming.”’

025 **ikiine ikka a piʃaaʔ ʔopa keerayew.**
i=kiɗ-ni-e *ikka* *a* *piʃaa-ʔ*
3=say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD and.3 GEN water-LOC

opa *keer-ay-ew.*
to run[SG]-PF[3M]-again
'And again, he ran to Water.'

026 **'Piʃaa-y! Piʃaa-y!'**
water-VOC.P Water-VOC.P
'Water! Water!'

027 **ikka kiinee 'Ooy.'**
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *'Ooy!'*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD yes
'And the water said "Yes!"'

028 **innaá Teekooli ka kiinee 'χooyi ka Apitta liɓɓiʃi liɓɓiʃi!'**
innaá *a* *Teekooli* *ka*
child.GEN GEN Teekoole and

kiɗ-ni-e *'χooy-i* *ka*
say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD come-IMPF.SG and

Apitta *liɓɓ-ʃ-i*
fire extinguish-DCAUS-IMP.SG

liɓɓ-ʃ-i!'
extinguish-DCAUS-IMP.SG
'And Teekoole's son said, 'Come and extinguish Fire!''

029 **ikka kiinee 'Apitta maanaa koɗay?'**
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *'Apitta* *maana=i*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD fire what=3

koɗ-ay?'
do-PF[3M]
'And the water said, "What has the fire done?"'

030 **ikka kiinee 'tikoorrootak kupiyaa tiitay.'**
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *'tika* *a*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD house GEN

Orrootá-ʔ *kup-iya=i* *tiit-ay.'*
Orroota-GEN burn-VN=3 refuse-PF[3M]

‘And he said, “He refused to burn Orroota’s house.”’

031 **ikka kiinee ‘Orroota maanaa koʔti?’**
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *‘Orroota* *maana=i*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Orroota what=3

koɗ-t-i?’
do-3F-PF
‘And he said, “What has Orroota done?”’

032 **ikka kiinee ‘talaá Teentooli pokiyaa tiitti.’**
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *‘talaá*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD goats.GEN

a *Teentooli* *pok-iyaa* *tiit-t-i.’*
GEN Teentoole shoot-INF refuse-3F-PF
‘And he said, “He refused to shoot Teentoole’s son’s goats.”’

033 **ikka kiinee ‘opa Teentooli maanaa kodîn?’**
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *‘opa* *Teentooli*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD ASS rich

maana=i *koɗ-i-n?’*
what=3 do-PF-P
‘And he said, ‘What have Teentole and his mates done?’’

034 **ikka kiinee ‘ɲolinnaá Teekoolee paʃʃin.’**
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *‘ɲolaa* *a*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD bag GEN

innaá *Teekooli=i* *paʃʃ-i-n.’*
child.GEN Teekoole=3 loss-PF-P
‘And he said, “They have lost Teekoole’s son’s bag.”’

035 **ikka kiinee ‘intiitay.’**
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *‘in=tiit-ay.’*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD 1=refuse-PF[3M]
‘And he said, “[Sorry] I am not coming.”’

036 *ikka keerew.*
ikka *keer-ay-ew.*
and.3 run[SG]-PF[3M]-again
‘And he ran again.’

037 ‘Arpa! Arpa!’
Elephant! Elephant!

038 ikka kiinee ‘Oooy.’
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *‘Oooy.’*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD yes
‘And he said, “Yes!”’

039 ‘χooyi ka sirkan piʃaá siiɓɓi siiɓɓi!’
‘χooy-i *ka* *sirka-n* *Piʃaá*
come-IMP.SG and trunk-INST Water.ACC

siiɓɓ-i *siiɓɓ-i!’*
take.a.sip-IMP.SG take.a.sip-IMP.SG
‘Come and sip up Water at once!’

040 ikka kiinee ‘Piʃaa maanaa koɗin?’
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *‘Piʃaa* *maana=i*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Water what=3

koɗ-i-n?’
do-PF-P
‘What has Water done?’

041 *ikka kiinee ‘Apitta liɓɓissaa tiitin.’*
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *‘Apitta*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Fire

liɓɓ-ʃ-ta=i *tiit-i-n.’*
extinguish-DCAUS-INF=3 refuse-PF-P
‘It has refused to extinguish Fire.’

042 ‘Apitta maanaa koɗay?’
‘Apitta *maana=i* *koɗ-ay?’*
Fire what=3 do-PF[3M]
‘What has Fire done?’

043 ‘manoorrootak kupiyaa tiitay.’
‘mana *a* *Orroota-ʔ* *kup-iya=i* *tiit-ay.’*
house GEN Orroota-GEN burn-VN=3 refuse-PF[3M]
‘He has refused to burn Orroota’s house.’

044 ikka kiinee ‘Orroota maanaa koʔti?’
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *‘Orroota* *maana=i*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Orroota what=3

kod-t-i?'
do-3F-PF
'And he said, "What has Orroota done?"'

045 **ikka kiinee 'talaá Teentooli pokiyaa tiitti.'**
ikka *kid-ni-e* *'talaá*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD goats.GEN

a *Teentooli* *pok-iyaa* *tiit-t-i.'*
GEN Teentoole shoot-VN refuse-3F-PF
'And he said, "He has refused to shoot Teentoole's son's goats."'

046 **ikka kiinee 'opa Teentooli maanaa kodin?'**
ikka *kid-ni-e* *'opa* *Teentooli*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD ASS Teentoole

maana=i *kod-i-n?'*
what=3 do-PF-P
'And he said, "What have Teentoole and his mates done?"'

047 **ikka kiinee 'ŋolinnaá Teekoolee paʃʃin.'**
ikka *kid-ni-e* *'ŋolaa* *ʔa*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD bag GEN

innaá *Teekooli=i* *paʃʃ-i-n.'*
child.GEN Teekoole=3 loss-PF-P
'And he said, "They lost Teekoole's son's bag."'

048 **ikka kiinee 'intiitay.'**
ikka *kid-ni-e* *'in=tiit-ay.'*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD 1=refuse-PF[3M]
'And he said, "[Sorry] I am not coming."'

049 **ikka a Kolalta? ʔopa keerayew ka kiinee 'Kolalta! Kolalta!'**
ikka *a* *Kolalta-?* *opa* *keer-ay-ew*
and.3 GEN Acacia-LOC to run[SG]-PF[3M]-again

ka *kid-ni-e* *'Kolalta!* *Kolalta!'*
and say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Acacia! Acacia!
'And he ran to Acacia's' house, and said, "Acacia! Acacia!"'

050 **ikka kiinee 'ee!'**
ikka *kid-ni-e* *'ee!'*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD yes
'And he said "Yes!"'

051 ‘χooyi ka Arpa ɠarap piʔi piʔi.’
‘χooy-i *ka* *Arpa* *ɠara-ʔ*
come-IMP.SG and Elephant on-LOC

piʔ-i *piʔ-i.’*
fall-IMP.SG fall-IMP.SG
‘Come and fall on Elephant!’

052 ikka kiinee ‘Arpa maanaa koday?’
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *‘Arpa* *maana=i*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Elephant what=3

kod-ay?’
do-PF[3M]
‘And he said, “What has Elephant done?”’

053 ikka kiinee ‘sirkan piʃaá siiɓɓiyaa tiitay.’
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *‘sirka-n*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD trunk-INST

piʃaá *siiɓɓ-ya=i* *tiit-ay.’*
water.ACC sip-VN=3 refuse-PF[3M]
‘He said, “He refused to sip up Water.”’

054 ikka kiinee ‘Piʃaa maanaa kodîn?’
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *‘Piʃaa* *maana=i* *kod-i-n?’*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Water what=3 do-PF-P
‘What has Water done?’

055 ikka kiinee ‘Apitta liɓɓissaa tiitin.’
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *‘Apitta*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Fire

liɓɓ-ʃ-ta=i *tiit-i-n.’*
extinguish-DCAUS-VN=3 refuse-PF-P
‘It has refused to extinguish Fire.’

056 ikka kiinee ‘Apitta maanaa koday?’
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *‘Apitta* *maana=i*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Fire what=3

kod-ay?’
do-PF[3M]
‘And he said, “What has Fire done?”’

057 ‘manoorrootak kupiyaa tiitay.’
‘mana a Orroota-ʔ kup-iya=i tiit-ay.’
house GEN Orroota-GEN burn-VN=3 refuse-PF[3M]
‘He has refused to burn Orroota’s house.’

058 ikka kiinee ‘Orroota maanaa koʔti?’
ikka kiɗ-ni-e ‘Orroota maana=i koɗ-t-i?’
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Orroota what=3 do-3F-PF
‘And he said, “What have the Orroota done?”’

059 ikka kiinee ‘talaá Teentooli pokiyaa tiitti.’
ikka kiɗ-ni-e ‘talaá
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD goats.GEN

a Teentooli pok-iyaa tiit-t-i.’
GEN Tentoole shoot-VN refuse-3F-PF
‘And he said, “He refused to shoot Teekoole’s son’s goats.”’

060 ikka kiinee ‘opa teentooli maanaa kodin?’
ikka kiɗ-ni-e ‘opa Teentooli
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD ASS Teentoole

maana=i koɗ-i-n?’
what=3 do-PF-P
‘And he said, “What have Teentoole and his mates done?”’

061 ikka kiinee ‘ɲolinnaá Teekoolee paʃʃin.’
ikka kiɗ-ni-e ‘ɲolaa a
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD bag GEN

innaá Teekooli=i paʃʃ-i-n.’
child.GEN Teekoole=3 loss-PF-P
‘And he said, “They lost Teekoole’s son’s bag.”’

062 ikka kiinee ‘intiitay.’
ikka kiɗ-ni-e ‘in=tiit-ay.’
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD 1=refuse-PF[3M]
‘And he said, “[Sorry] I am not coming.”’

067 ikka keerayew.
ikka keer-ay-ew.
and.3 run[SG]-PF[3M]-again
‘And he ran again.’

068 **‘Kurʃa! ‘Kurʃa!’**
Rat! Rat!’

069 **ikka kiinee ‘ee’**
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *‘ee’*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD ‘yes!’
‘And the rat said, “Yes!”’

070 **‘χooyi ka Kolalta kelaa hittinnaa ɠuuri ɠuuri!’**
‘χooy-i *ka* *Kolalta* *kela-a* *hittinnaa*
come-IMP.SG and Acacia under-LOC roots

ɠuur-i *ɠuur-i!’*
cut[PL]-IMP.SG cut[PL]-IMP.SG
‘Come and cut roots from Acacia!’

071 **ikka kiinee ‘Kolalta maanaa koɗay?**
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *‘Kolalta* *maana=i*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Acacia what=3

koɗ-ay?
do-PF[3M]
‘And he said, “What has Acacia done?”’

072 **ikka kiinee ‘Arpa ɠarap piʔiyaa tiitay.’**
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *‘Arpa* *ɠara-ʔ*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Elephant on-LOC

piʔ-iya=i *tiit-ay.’*
fall-INF=3 refuse-PF[3M]
‘And he said, “He has refused to fall on Elephant.”’

073 **ikka kiinee ‘Arpa maanaa koday?’**
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *‘Arpa* *maana=i*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Elephant what=3

kod-ay?’
do-PF[3M]
‘And he said, “What has Elephant done?”’

074 **ikka kiinee ‘sirkan Piʃaá siiɓɓiyaa tiitay.’**
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *‘sirka-n*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD trunk-INST

Piʃaá *siiɓɓ-ya=i* *tiit-ay.'*
water.ACC sip-INF=3 refuse-PF[3M]
'He said, "He refused to sip Water."'

075 **ikka kiinee 'Piʃaa maanaa kodin?'**
ikka *kid-ni-e* *'Piʃaa* *maana=i* *kod-i-n?'*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Water what=3 do-PF-P
'What has Water done?'

076 **ikka kiinee 'Apitta liɓɓissaa tiitin.'**
ikka *kid-ni-e* *'Apitta*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Fire

liɓɓ-ʃ-ta=i *tiit-i-n.'*
extinguish-DCAUS-INF=3 refuse-PF-P
'It has refused to extinguish Fire.'

077 **ikka kiinee 'Apitta maanaa koday?'**
ikka *kid-ni-e* *'Apitta* *maana=i* *kod-ay?'*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Fire what=3 do-PF[3M]
'And he said, "What has Fire done?"'

078 **'manoorrootak kupiyaa tiitay.'**
'mana *a* *Orroota-ʔ* *kup-iya=i* *tiit-ay.'*
house GEN Orroota-GEN burn-VN=3 refuse-PF[3M]
'He has refused to burn Orroota's house.'

079 **'Orroota maanaa koʔti?'**
'Orroota *maana=i* *kod-t-i?'*
Orroota what=3 do-3F-PF
'[And he said,] "What has Orroota done?"'

080 **ikka kiinee 'talaá Teentooli pokiyaa tiitti.'**
ikka *kid-ni-e* *'talaá*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD goats.GEN

a *Teentooli* *pok-iyaa* *tiit-t-i.'*
GEN Teentoole shoot-VN refuse-3F-PF
'And he said, "He refused to shoot Teentoole's son's goats."'

081 **ikka kiinee 'opa Teentooli maanaa kodin?'**
ikka *kid-ni-e* *'opa* *Teentooli*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD ASS Teentoole

maana=i *kod-i-n?'*
what=3 do-PF-P
'And he said, "What have Teentoole and his mates done?"'

082 **ikka kiinee 'ɲolinnaá Teekoolee paʃʃin.'**
ikka *kid-ni-e* *'ɲolaa* *a*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD bag GEN

innaá *Teekooli=i* *paʃʃ-i-n.'*
child.GEN Teekoole=3 loss-PF-P
'And he said, "They lost the Teekole's son's bag."'

083 **'intiitay.'**
'in=tiit-ay.'
1=refuse-PF[3M]
'[And he said,] "I refuse to come."'

084 **ikka keer-ay-ew.**
and.3 run[SG]-PF[3M]-again
'He ran again.'

085 **Alla?itta! Alla?itta!**
Vulture! Vulture!

086 **'χooy-i ka Kurʃa ɗay-i ɗay-i!'**
come-IMP.SG and rat hit-IMP.SG hit-IMP.SG
'Come and hit Rat!'

087 **oore alla?ittasi? ʔa olkela ankaassaɗin male Tapaytasiɗ ɗawtaɗ ɗʷay.**
oore *alla?itta-si?* *a* *ol-kela*
then crow-DEF.M/F concerning each.other-under

in=kaassaɗ-in *male* *Tapayta-si?*
3NEG=ask-NEG without Rat-DEF.M/F

ɗaw-ta-? *ɗoy-ay*
hit-VN-DAT jump-PF[3M]
'Then, without asking what happened, the Vulture flew to hit Rat.'

088 **Tapayta ka χa?aɗay ka Kolalta kelaa hittinnaa ɠuuriyaa paayyay.**
Tapayta ka *χa?aɗ-ay* *ka* *Kolalta*
Rat and run-PF[3M] and Acacia

kela-a *hittinnaa* *ɠuur-iya=i*
under-LOC roots cut[PL]-INF=3

paayy-ay.
start-PF[3M]
'[Then] the rat ran and started cutting the Acacia's roots.'

089 **Kolalta tammaɕay ka Arpa ɕarpa.**
Kolalta *tammaɕ-ay* *ka* *Arpa*
Acacia be.afraid-PF[3M] and Elephant
ɕara-opa.
on-to
'Acacia was afraid and began falling on Elephant '

090 **ikiinee Arpa ka Piʃaa siiɓɓiyaapa.**
i=kiɗ-ni-e *Arpa* *ka* *Piʃaa*
3=say-IPF.PRES Elephant and Water
siiɓɓ-iyaa-opa.
sip-VN-to
'It is said that Elephant began going to sip Water.'

091 **Piʃaa ka Apitta liɓɓissaapa.**
Piʃaa *ka* *Apitta* *liɓɓ-ʃ-taa-opa*
Water and fire extinguish-DCAUS-to
'And Water [ran] to extinguish Fire.'

092 **Apitta ka manoorrootak kupiyaapa.**
Apitta *ka* *mana* *a* *Orrootá-ʔ* *kup-iyaa-opa*
Fire and house GEN Orrota-GEN burn-VN-to
'And Fire [ran] to burn Orrota's house.'

093 **Orrootak ka tallaá Teentooli pokiyaapa.**
Orroota-ʔ *ka* *tallaá* *Teentooli*
Orroota-NOM and goats.GEN Teentoole
pok-iyaa-opa
shoot[PL]-VN-to
'[Then] Orroota [ran] to shoot Teentoole's son's goats.'

094 **maanaa hasay oore?**
maana=i *has-ay* *oore?*
what=3 remain-PF[3M] then
'What is left, then?

095 **ɲolaá innaá Teekooli.**
ɲolaa *a* *innaá* *Teekooli*
bag GEN child.GEN Teekoole
'Teekoole's son's bag.

096 **oore innaá Teentooli ka ɲolaasinee innaá Teekooli ɗaaʃin.**

oore	*innaa*	*a*	*Teentooli*	*ka*
then	child	GEN	Teentoole	and

ɲolaa-sini?	*a*	*innaa*	*Teekooli*	*ɗaaʃ-i-n.*
bag-DEF.P	GEN	child	Teekoole	give-PF-P

'Then, Teentoole's son gave back Teekoole's son's bag.'

097 **oore innaá Teekooli ka ɲolaaɗi ɠeeɗaɗin.**

oore	*innaa*	*a*	*Teekooli*	*ka*
then	child	GEN	Teekoole	and

ɲolaa-ɗi	*ɠeeɗ-aɗ-i-n.*
bag-3SG.POSS.M/F	take-MID-PF-P

'Then Teekoole's son took back his bag.'

098 **ayi ɠaraʔee ɗikkanni torroosini.**

aye	*ɠara-ʔ=i*	*ɗikkaɗ-ni*	*torraa-oosini?.*
here	on-LOC=3	finish-IPF.PRES	story-DEM.P

'It is here that this story ends.'

14.2. Text 2: Ahta a Lammootáʔ A Second Wife

001 χattaa kiini ka, aappaa tokkakka ahawwaa lakkii faɗay.

χatta=i	*kiɗ-ni*	*ka,*	*aappaa*
long.time.ago=3	say-IPF.PRES	and	husband

tokka-ikka	*ahawwaa*	*lakki=i faɗ-ay.*
one.M-and.3	wives	two=3 marry-PF[3M]

'A long time ago, there was a man who took two wives.'

002 oo ahawwaa lakki faɗay, ahta paayyutaa itoʔti.

oo	*ahawwaa*	*lakki*	*faɗ-ay,*	*ahta*
when	wives	two	marry-PF[3M]	wife

a	*paayyuta*	*i=toy-t-i.*
GEN	first	3=die-3F-PF

'Of the two wives, the first wife died.'

003 oo toʔti ooreeyye, ahta lammattak kuyyaʔta takkaayye

oo	*toy-t-i*	*oore-eeyye*	*ahta*	*a*
when	die-3F-PF	then-BKGRD	wife	GEN

lammatta-ʔ	*kuyyaʔta*	*takka-eyye*	*luɠɠîsa=i*
second-GEN	day	one-BKGRD	leather.skirt=3

piɗɗ-t-i.
buy-3F-PF
'When she [the first wife] died, one day the second wife bought a leather skirt.'

004 luɠɠîsa kiɗeeta uwwaa parraa χattaayyee a χattaateeyyee akata kokkookaa.

luɠɠîsa	*kiɗ-eeta uwwaa*	*parraa*
leather.skirt	say-INF skirt	years

a	*χatta-ayyee*	*akata*	*kokkook-aaʔ.*
GEN	long.time.ago-BKGRD	very	strong-P

'Many years ago leather skirt meant an expensive skirt.'

005 ee luɠɠîsasip piɗɗîti oorineeyye, maanaa koʔti, tuparraa maanaa koʔti, tuparraa lakkee piʃaaʔ ʔerkiti.

ee	*lucɠisa-si?*	*pidd-t-i*	*oore-neeyye*
when	leather.skirt-DEF.M/F	buy-3F-PF	then-BKGRD

maana=i	*kod-t-i*	*tuparraa*
what=3	do-3F-PF	girls

lakki=i piʃaa-?	*erk-t-i.*
two=3 water-DAT	send-3F-PF

'When she bought the leather skirt, "what did she do?" She sent two girls to fetch water.'

006 takka? ?enanta χaadi.

takka-?	*enanta*	*χaadi.*
one.F-NOM	girl	3SG.POSS.M/F

'One was her daughter.'

007 takka? ?enanta aayyaasinit to?te.

takka-?	*enanta*	*a*	*aayyaa-sini?*
one.F-NOM	girl	GEN	mother-DEF.P

toy-t-i-?
die-3F-PF-GEN
'[And] one was a daughter of the deceased mother.'

008 ee piʃaa? ?anniyaaneeyye, maanaa ko?ti enantaadik kulpa a feyyaa? ?erkti ka enantase aayyaasinit to?te, maanaa ko?ti ?icɠeetti kaa kulpaadi diddiptannee diddiptanne oppa ɠu?ti.

ee	*piʃaa-?*	*an-ni-yaan-eyye*	*maana=i*
when	water-DAT	go-IPF.PRES-3PL-BKGRD	what=3

kod-t-i	*enanta-adi-?*	*kulpa*
do-3F-PF	girl-3SG.POSS.M/F-DAT	calabash

a	*feyy-aa ?*	*erk-t-i*	*ka*	*enanta-se*
GEN	well-P	send-3F-PF	and	girl-DEF.M/F

a	*aayyaa-sini?*	*toy-t-i*	*maana=i*
GEN	mother-DEF.P	die-3F-PF	what=3

kod-t-i	*i=ɠeed-t-i*	*ka=i*
do-3F-PF	3=take-3F-PF	and=3

kulpa-adi	*diddipta-nn=i*
calabash-3SG.POSS.M/F	needle-INST=3

oppa *ɢud-t-i.*
into pierce.PL-3F-PF
'When they [the girls] were to go to fetch water, what she [the second wife] did was give her daughter a calabash without holes but she pierced holes in calabash of the daughter of the deceased mother.'

009 **oo kulpallaasiniɢ ɢuʔti kammaayyee, enantase a lammitteetak kirrup-pupa iʔanti iʔanti ka piʃaasiniʔ ʔoraapni ka oo immaktu ka ela ɢeetto, kammannee allit tuttuɢmanni.**

oo	*kulpallaa-sini?*	*ɢud-t-i*	*kammaa-yyee,*
when	calabashes-DEF.P	pierce-3F-PF	after-BKGRD

enanta-si	*a*	*lammitteeta-ʔ*	*kirra-oppupa*
girl-DEF.M/F	GEN	second.wife-GEN	reiver-into

i=an-t-i	*ka*	*piʃaa-sini*	*oraap-ni*
3=go-3F-PF	and	water-DEF.P	fetch-IPF.PRES

ka	*oo*	*immak-t-u*	*ka*	*ɗela*	*ɢeed-t-o,*
and	when	fill-3F-DP	and	up	take-3F-DP

kamma-nn=i	*alli?*	*tut-tuɢmad-ni.*
behind-PATH=3	away	PL-spill-IPF.PRES

'The girl fetched the water and when she filled the calabashes and took them up, the calabashes leaked water from underneath.'

010 **inansiχ χaadî ooreeyye kulpallaadî iʔimmakatti ka χaʔatti ka tayti.**

inanta-si?	*χaadî*	*oore-eeyye*
girl-DEF.M/F	3SG.POSS.M/F	then-BKG

kulpallaa-adî	*i=immak-ad-t-i*	*ka*
calabashes-3SG.POSS.M/F	3=fill-MID-3F-PF	and

χaʔad-t-i	*ka*	*tay-t-i*
run[SG]-3F-PF	and	go.away-3F-PF

'Her daughter [however] filled her calabashes and ran and went away.'

011 **ataakkaʔ ʔikiitee 'attan assi patta kala ka luɢɢisoosiɗ ɗapaʔ'**

ataakka-ʔ	*i=kiʔ-t-i*	*'atta=in*	*assi*
the.other.one-NOM	3=say-3F-PF	how=1	like.this

patta	*kal-a*	*ka*	*lucʕisaa-osi?*
only	return.home-IPF.FUT	and	skin.skirt-DEM.M/F

ɗap-a?'
lose-IPF.FUT
'[And] the other said: "How can I go home without [fetching] water like this and lose the skin skirt?"'

012 **Ka immakni inanta laʔayyuk ka yaalti yaalti ka ooreeyye kammaʔ ʔikka ʕarah halkeetaawti.**

ka	*immak-ni*	*inanta*	*a*	*laʔayyu-ʔ*
and	fill-IPF.PRES	girl	GEN	someone's-GEN

ka	*yaal-t-i*	*yaal-t-i*	*ka*	*oore-eeyye*
and	toil-3F-PF	toil-3F-PF	and	then-BKGRD

kamma-ʔ	*ikka*	*ʕara-ʔ*	*halkeetaaw-t-i.*
then-LOC	and.then.3	on-LOC	be.dawn-3F-PF

'And the girl filled the calabashes again and again until it was dawn.'

013 **ee halkeetaawti maanaa koʔti?**

ee	*halkeetaaw-t-i*	*maanaa*	*kod-t-i?*
when	be.dawn-3F-PF	what	do-3F-PF

'When it was dawn, what did she do?'

014 **hotaarta a kirra kapaɗ ɗehaye ca.**

hotaarta	*a*	*kirra*	*kapa-ʔ*	*ɗeh-ay = i*
acacia.sp	REL	river	near-LOC	sprout-3M = 3

kiy-a.
be-IPF.FUT
'There was an acacia tree near the river.'

015 **hotaarsiʔ ʔoppaayye karkaɗaa ca.**

hotaarta-siʔ	*oppaa-aayye*	*karkaɗaa = i*
acacia.sp-DEF.M/F	BKGRD	beehives = 3

kiy-a
be-IPF.FUT
'In the acacia tree there were beehives.'

016 **ikka ʕoyrasiʔ ʔoppupa feyyatti ka karkaa ʕaraa kaysaa ela ʕapti.**

ikka *ɢoyra-si?* *oppupa* *feyyad-t-i*
and.then.3 tree-DEF.M/F into climb.up-3F-PF

ka *karkaa* *ɢara-a* *kaysaa* *ɗela*
and beehive on-DEST beehive.cover upward

ɢap-t-i.
hold-3F-PF
'And then, she climbed the tree up and pulled the cover of one of the beehives up.'

017 Ka otanta karkaa? ʔiʃuʔ ʔa kaysaak karam mukti.
ka *otanta* *a* *karkaa-ʔ* *iʃuʔ*
and centre GEN beehive-GEN and

a *kaysaa-ʔ* *kara-ʔ* *muk-t-i.*
GEN beehive.cover-GEN in-LOC sleep-3F-PF
'And then, she lay between the beehive and beehive cover.'

018 ata a hotaartasi? ʔoppupa feyyannittooyyee feyyannittooyye karmaa iʃeenna akkay.

ata *a* *hotaarta-si?* *oppupa*
by.the.way when acacia.sp-DEF.M/F into

feyyad-ni-kit-t-o-yyee
climb.up-IPF.PRES-be-3F-IPF.FUT.DP-BKGRD

karmaa *iʃeenna* *akk-ay.*
lion 3SGF.PRO[ACC] see-PF[3M]
'A lion saw her when she was climbing up the tree.'

019 ee mukteeyye, karmaasik ka aanay ka kiinee 'Kelaa ɗela karkaa ɢaraa ɗela kaysaa. kaysaa. Maanaa otante poori poori? anaa ela ɗeʔnim kee χaa ɗeʔni?'

ee *muk-t-i-eeyye,* *karmaa-si?* *ka*
when sleep-3F-PF-BKGRD lion-DEF.M/F and

aan-ay *ka* *kiɗ-ni=i* *'kela-a*
go-PF[3M] and say-IPF.PRES=3 'under-LOC

ɗela *karkaa* *ɢara-a* *ɗela*
upward beehive on-LOC upward

kaysaa. *Maanaa* *otanta-e*
beehive.cover what middle-BKGRD

poor-i *poor-i?*
be.black-PF be.black-PF

ana-a *ɗela* *ɗey-ni-m*
1SG.PRO.ACC-CLF up.there come-IPF.PRES-or

ke-e *χaa* *ɗey-ni?*
2SG.PRO.ACC-CLF downward come-IPF.PRES
'When she was asleep, the lion came and said, "Underneath is a beehive, above is a beehive cover. What is black in the middle? Shall I come up there or you climb down?"'

020 **inantasiʔ ʔoppa oorinnin kittu.**
inanta-siʔ *oppa* *oor-ʃ-ni=in*
girl-DEF.M/F into return-DCAUS-IPF.PRES=3NEG

kit-t-u.
be-3F-NEG
'[And] the girl does not respond.'

021 **karmaasikka amma oppaʔ ʔooray ka kiinee 'Kelaa ɗela karkaa ɠaraa ɗela kaysaa. kaysaa. Maanaa ʔotante poori poori? anaa ela ɗeʔnim kee χaa ɗeʔni?'**

karmaa-siʔ *ka* *amma* *oppa-ʔ*
lion-DEF.M/F and now into-LOC

oor-ay *ka* *kiɗ-ni=i* *'kela-a*
return-PF[3M] and say-IPF.PRES=3 'under-LOC

ɗela *karkaa* *ɠara-a* *ɗela*
upward beehive on-LOC upward

kaysaa. *manaa* *otanta-e*
beehive.cover what middle-BKGRD

poor-i *poor-i?*
be.black-PF be.black-PF

ana-a *ɗela* *ɗey-ni-m*
1SG.PRO.ACC-CLF up.there come-IPF.PRES-or

ke-e *χaa* *ɗey-ni?*
2SG.PRO.ACC-CLF downward come-IPF.PRES
'And the lion repeated saying, "Underneath is a beehive, above is a beehive cover. What is black in the middle? Shall I come up there or you come down?"'

022 **inantasi? ʔumma oppa oorinnin kittu.**
inanta-si? *umma* *oppa*
girl-DEF.M/F at.all into

oor-n-ni=in *kit-t-u.*
return-DCAUS-IPF.PRES=3NEG be-3F-NEG
'The girl does not respond at all.'

023 **oore karmaasi? ʔiʔela feyyanniya inantasiɠ ɠeeɗiya ka ɗamtaʔi**

oore *karmaa-si?* *i=ɗela*
then lion-DEF.M/F 3=upward

feyyaɗ-ni-kiy-a *inanta-si?* *ɠeeɗ-iya*
climb.up-IPF.PRES-be-IPF.FUT girl-DEF.M/F take-INF

ka *ɗam-ta-ʔ*
and eat-VN-DAT
'Then, the lion started climbing up in order to catch the girl and eat her.'

024 **inantasi? ʔoorinee ikiine 'anaa χata ɗeʔni.'**
inanta-si? *oorine* *i=kiɗ-ni*
girl-DEF.M/F then 3=say-IPF.PRES

'ana-a *χata* *ɗey-ni.'*
'1SG.PRO.ACC-CLF down come-IPF.PRES
'Then the girl said, "It's me who is coming down."'

025 **ee lekkatti oore karmaasi? ʔikiine 'kin ɗamam anaɠ ɠeetta ka aʔʔektaawu piitan akkayin male irroota sakal ana haʔta ka a kunɗattati? ʔana lekkissa?'**

ee *lekkaɗ-t-i* *oore* *karmaa-si?*
when climb.down-3F-PF then lion-DEF.M/F

i=kiɗ-ni *'ke=in* *ɗam-a-m*
3=say-IPF.PRES 2SG.PRO.ACC=1 eat-IPF.FUT-or

ana=iʔ *ɠeeɗ-t-a* *ka*
1SG.PRO.ACC=2 take-2-IPF.FUT and

aʔ=ekta-awu *piita-n*
2NEG=tail-1SG.POSS.M/F ground-PATH

aʔ=kay-in *male* *irroota* *sakal*
2NEG=reach-NEG REAS mountain nine

ana *haaɗ-t-a* *ka* *a*
1SG.PRO.ACC carry-2-IPF.FUT and GEN

kuɗan-ttati-ʔ *ana*
ten-ORD-GEN 1SG.PRO.ACC

lekkiʃ-t-aʔ'
step.down-2-IPF.FUT
'When she climbed down, the lion said to the girl, "Shall I eat you (SG) or will you (SG) carry me over nine mountains without letting my tail touch the ground, and set me down on the tenth?"'

026 **ikka kiine 'aʔ ʔana ɗamtu kapaa irroota sakalin ki ki haaɗa ka a kunɗattatik ki lekkiʃa.'**
ikka *kiɗ-ni* *'a=iʔ* *ana*
then.3 say-IPF.PRES concerning=2 1SG.PRO.ACC

ɗam-t-u *kapa-a* *irroota* *sakal=in*
eat-2-DP near-LOC mountain nine=1

ke *haaɗ-a* *ka* *a*
2SG.PRO.ACC carry-IPF.FUT and GEN

kuɗan-ttati-ʔ *ki*
ten-ORD-GEN 2SG.PRO.ACC

lekkiʃ-a.'
step.down-IPF.FUT
'And then she said, "Instead of you (SG) eating me, I will carry you (SG) over nine mountains and set you (SG) down on the tenth mountain.''

027 **iʃeeɗɗaá haʔti haʔti ʔinantasik ka irroota sakal tuullissi ka a kunɗattateeyye ʃila tokka kapa kayin karmaasiʔ ʔikiinee 'ayikka tikaawoy ana lekkiʃi.'**

iʃeeɗɗa=i *haaɗ-t-i* *haaɗ-t-i* *inanta-si?*
then=3 carry-3F-PF carry-3F-PF girl-DEF.M/F

ka *irroota* *sakal* *tuull-ʃ-t-i* *ka*
and mountain nine cross-DCAUS-3F-PF and

a *kuɗan-ttat-eeyye* *ʃila* *tokka* *kapa-a*
GEN ten-ORD-BKGRD rock one.M near-LOC

kay-i-n *karmaa-si?* *i=kiɗ-ni*
reach-PF-P lion-DEF.M/F 3=say-IPF.PRES

'ayikka *tika-awo-y*
here.DEST house-1SG.POSS.M/F-BKGRD

ana *lekkiʃ-i.'*
1SG.PRO.ACC step.down-PF
'Then, the girl carried and carried the lion over nine mountains and on the tenth one near a rock, the lion said, "Let me down as my house is here."'

028 ikka lekkissi.
ikka *lekkiʃ-t-i*
and.3 step.down-3F-PF
'And she let him down.'

029 oo lekkisseeyye, karmaasii paayyay ka kiine 'ʃilaaynu passannaa pas.'

oo *lekkiʃ-s-i-eeyye,* *karmaa-si?=i*
when step.down-3F-PF=BKGRD lion-DEF.M/F=3

paayy-ay *ka* *kiɗ-ni* *'ʃila-aynu*
start-PF[3M] and say-IPF.PRES rock-3PL.POSS.M/F

passaɗ-naa *pas.'*
detach-NMLZ IDEO
'When she let him down, the lion started saying, "O rock opf ours be opened!"'

030 ʃilasik ka olkelaa 'pas' kiɗay.
ʃila-si? *ka* *ol-kela=i* *'pas'* *kiɗ-ay.*
rock-DEF.M/F and together-under=3 IDEO say-PF[3M]
'And the rock opened at once.'

031 ikka kullin.
ikka *kull-i-n*
and.3 enter-PF-P
'And they went in.'

032 oo kullin kammaa ikka iʃeenna ɗehammi ka kiinee ''oon kutu ka kalliyo, ikkiitaʔe 'χuutti χuutte χuutte χutte. ildaa χurpannaa χuutte χuutte. Mattan χuttaytoo χuutte, χuutte. Kuyyanta ɠuɗaa ropa, ropa.'

oo *kull-i-n* *kammaaik* *ka* *iʃeenna*
when enter-PF-P after-LOC and.3 3SGF.PRO[ACC]

ɗeham-ni *ka* *kiɗ-ni* *'oo=in*
advise-IPF.PRES and say-IPF.PRES when=1

kut-u *ka* *kal-ni-kiy-o,*
hunt-DP and enter-IPF.PRES-be-DP

iʔ=kiɗ-t-a-ʔ *'χuutti χuutte χuutte χutte.*
2=say-2-IPF.FUT-DAT χuutti χuutte χuutte χutte.

ildaa *χurpannaa* *χuutte* *χuutte.*
eyes logs χuutte χuutte.

Matta-n *χutt-ayt-oo* *χuutte,* *χuutte.*
head-INST be.big-AGENT-VOC χuutte χuutte

Kuyyanta *ɠuɗa=i* *rop-a,* *rop-a.'*
day on.side=3 rub-IPF.FUT rub-IPF.FUT
'After entering, the lion advised her and said to her, "When I go hunting and come home, you should say [sing] 'χuutti χuutte χuutte χutte. Big-eyed χuutte χuutte. Big-headed χuutte χuutte. You (SG) rub [kill] in the daytime."'

033 antiʔ ʔanka kiɗaa 'Faayu faayo, faayo, faayo. ildaa fanɠallaa faayo, faayo. Kasaraa faʃʃaanaa faayo faayo. Soysa faʃfaʃaa faayo faayo.'

anti-ʔ *an=ka* *kiɗ-a* *'Faayu*
1SG.PRO-NOM 1=and say-IPF.FUT 'Faayu

faayo, *faayo,* *faayo.* *ildaa* *fanɠallaa*
faayo, faayo, faayo. eyes splinters

faayo, *faayo.* *Kasaraa* *faʃʃaanaa* *faayo*
faayo, faayo. braids handful faayo

faayo. *Soysa* *faʃfaʃ-aa* *faayo* *faayo.'*
faayo. skirt IDEO-NMLZ faayo, faayo

'And I will say, "Faayu, faayo, faayo, faayo. Eyes like splinters faayo, faayo, clinking skirt faayo, faayo."'

034 **ka assi ollik kiɗin ka ollik kalin.**
ka *assi* *olli-ʔ* *kiɗ-i-n*
and like.this e ach.other-DAT say-PF-P

ka *olli-ʔ* *kal-i-n*
and each.other-DAT agree-PF-P
'They said this to each other, and agreed with each other.'

035 **oo ollik kalin kammaayye, karmaasik kutaymaasinitiʔee aanay.**
oo *olli-ʔ* *kal-i-n*
when each.other-DAT agree-PF-P

kamma-a-yye, *karmaa-siʔ*
after-LOC-BKGRD lion-DEF.M/F

kut-anaa-siniti?=i *ʔaan-ay*
hunt-NMLZ-DEF.PL=3 go-PF[3M]
'After making the agreement, the lion went hunting.'

036 **Ka oo kutanaasinik kela kalliyo karmaasik ka tika kapa kayay, ipaayyay ka kiinee 'Faayu faayo, faayo, faayo. ilɗaa fanɠallaa faayo, faayo. Soysa faʃfaʃaa faayo faayo. Kasaraa faʃʃaanaa faayo faayo'.**

ka *ʔoo* *kut-anaa-sinʔ* *kela*
and when.3 hunt-NMLZ-DEF.P under

kal-ni-kiy-o *karmaa-siʔ* *ka*
return.home-IPF.PRES-be-DP lion-DEF.M/F and

tika *kapa* *kay-ay,* *i=paayy-ay* *ka*
house near reach-PF[3M] 3=start-PF[3M] and

kiɗ-ni *'Faayu* *faayo,* *faayo,* *faayo.*
say-IPF.PRES 'Faayu faayo, faayo, faayo.

ilɗaa *fanɠallaa* *faayo,* *faayo.* *Kasaraa* *faʃʃaanaa*
eyes splinters faayo, faayo. braids handful

faayo faayo. Soysa faffaʃ-aa faayo faayo.'
faayo faayo. skirt IDEO-NMLZ faayo, faayo
'And when the lion was coming from hunting, and reached near the house, he started saying, "Faayu, faayo, faayo, faayo. Eyes like splinters faayo, faayo, clinking skirt faayo, faayo."'

037 **kammaʔ ʔinantasik ka tika karaa ɗesa paayyitew ka kiine 'χuutti χuutte χuutte χutte. ilɗaa χurpannaa χuutte χuutte. Mattan χuttaytoo χuutte, χuutte. Kuyyanta ɠuɗaa ropa, ropa'.**

kamma-ʔ inanta-siʔ ikka tika kara-a
after-LOC 3SGF.PRO-DEF.M/F and.3 house in-LOC

ɗesa paayy-t-i-w ka kiɗ-ni 'χuutti
from start-3F-PF-again and say-IPF.PRES χuutti

χuutte χutte χuutte ilɗaa χurpannaa
χuutte χuutte χutte. eyes logs

χuutte χuutte. Matta-n χutt-ayt-o
χuutte χuutte. head-INST be.big-AGENT-VOC

χuutte, χuutte. Kuyyanta ɠuɗa=i
χuutte χuutte day on.side=3

rop-a, rop-a.'
rub-IPF.FUT rub-IPF.FUT
'And after that from inside the house, the girl started saying, "χuutti χuutte χuutte χutte. Big-eyed χuutte χuutte. Big-headed χuutte χuutte. You (SG) rub [kill] in the daytime."

038 **Kammak karmaasiʃ 'ʃilaaynu passannaa pasee' kiɗay.**
kamma-ʔ karmaa-siʔ 'ʃila-aynu
after-LOC lion-DEF.M/F rock-1PL.POSS.M/F

passaɗ-naa pas=i' kiɗ-ay.
detach-NMLZ IDEO=3 say-PF[3M]
'After that, the lion said "O rock of ours be opened!"'

039 **ʃilasikka panamay ikka kullay.**
ʃila-siʔ ikka pan-am-ay ikka kull-ay
rock-DEF.M/F and.3 open-PAS-PF[3M] and.3 enter-PF[3M]
'And the door opened and then he went in.'

040 oo kullay kammaa ʔikidɗaye ‘ʃilaaynu luɓɓanna luɓ!’

oo	*kull-ay*	*kamma-a*	*i=kid-ay-e*
when	enter-PF[3M]	after-LOC	3=say-PF[3M]-BKGRD

‘ʃila-aynu	*luɓɓ-anna*	*luɓ!’*
rock-1PL.POSS.M/F	IDEO-NMLZ	IDEO

‘After entering, he said, ‘O rock or ours be closed!’’

041 Oore ʃilasikka ɗufamay

oore	*ʃila-siʔ-ikka*	*ɗuf-am-ay*
then	rock-DEF.M/F-and.3	shut-PAS-PF[3M]

‘Then the rock closed.’

042 ka oore waasinee kutaye ka leyʃaye ka iʃan kalaye seni laatak koʔni ka ɗammi.

ka	*oore*	*waasini?*	*a*	*kut-ay-e*
and	then	thing	REL	hunt-PF[3M]-BKGRD
ka	*leyʃ-ay-e*			*ka*
and	kill[PL]-PF[3M]-BKGRD			and

iʃa-n	*kal-ay-e*
3SGM.PRO[ACC]-INST	return.home-PF[3M]-BKGRD

seni	*laata-ʔ*	*koɗ-ni*	*ka*	*ɗam-ni.*
these	food-DAT	do-IPF.PRES	and	eat-IPF.PRES

‘And then, she prepares the things he hunted and brought home for food and they eat.’

043 kuyyaʔta takkaayye, oo iʃak kutaymaaʔ ʔaanayeeyye, innaasuk ka ʔirroosiɠ ɠarpa horeeta ɗawwin.

kuyyaʔta	*takka-ayye,*	*oo*
day	one.M-BKGRD	when.3

iʃa-ʔ	*kut-aymaa-ʔ*	*aan-ay-eeyye,*
3SGM.PRO-NOM	hunt-NMLZ-DAT	go-PF[3M]-BKGRD

innaa-suʔ	*ka*	*irroota-siʔ*	*ɠarpa*
child-3POSS.P	and	mountain-DEF.M/F	onto

horeeta	*ɗaww-i-n*
cattle	herd-PF-P

‘One day, after he [the lion] went hunting, her [girl’s] brother herded cattle onto the mountain.’

044 **innaasinik ka oorine ʃilasiχ χaayʃuɢ ɢaraaχaa ɢeeɗay ka sinɗaa sinɗaaway.**

innaa-sini? *ka* *oorine* *ʃila-si?* *χaayʃu?*
child-DEF.P and then rock-DEF.M/F their

ɢaraaχa=i *sinɗaa* *sinɗaaw-i-n.*
from.top.donwards=3 urine urinate-PF-P
'And then, the boy urinated on top of the rock [and the urine flowed down].'

045 **oore inantasi? ʔipaayyitee kiini ka kiine 'Maanaa sinɗaa innaanno? ʔinnaanno? ʔalaawni alaawni?'**

oore *inanta-si?* *i=paayy-t-i-e* *kiɗ-ni*
then girl-DEF.M/F 3=start-3F-PF-BKGRD say-IPF.PRES

ka *kiɗ-ni* *'Maana=i* *sinɗaa* *a*
and say-IPF.PRES what=3 urine GEN

innaa-nnó-ʔ *a* *innaa-nnó-ʔ*
child-1PL.POSS.P-GEN GEN child-1PL.POSS.P-GEN

alaaw-ni?'
smell-IPF.PRES
'And then the girl started saying, "What is it that smells like my brother's urine?"'

046 **inatasik ka oppa? ʔoorri ka kiinee 'Maanaa sinɗaa innaanno? innaanno? alaawni, alaawni, alaawni?'**

inata-si? *ka* *oppa-ʔ* *oor-ni* *ka*
girl-DEF.M/F and into-LOC return-IPF.PRES and

kiɗ-ni-e *'Maana=i* *sinɗaa* *ʔa*
say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD what=3 urine GEN

innaa-nnó-ʔ *a* *innaa-nnó-ʔ*
child-1PL.POSS.P-GEN GEN child-1PL.POSS.P-GEN

alaaw-ni, *alaaw-ni,* *alaawni?'*
smell-IPF.PRES smell-IPF.PRES smell-IPF.PRES
'And the girl repeats saying, "What is it that smells like my brother's urine?"'

047 **iʃak ka lokkoote ʃilasiʕ ʕaraaχa ɗakkaysannee kiini ka kiinee**
‘inim maanaa nessa ʕarooti χannok kiini kiini?’

iʃa-ʔ	*ka*	*lokkoote*	*ʃila-si?*
3SGM.PRO-NOM	and	slowly	rock-DEF.M/F

ʕaraaχa	*ɗakkaysaɗ-ni-e*
from.on.downwards	listen-IPF.PRES-BKGRD

kiɗ-ni	*ka*	*kiɗ-ni-e*	*‘ini?*
say-IPF.PRES	and	say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD	this

maana = i	*nessa*	*ʕarooti*	*χanno-ʔ*
what = 3	voice	ʕarooti	1PL.POSS-GEN

kiɗ-ni	*kiɗ-ni?’*
say-IPF.PRES	say-IPF.PRES

‘He [the boy] was listening carefully from the rock downwards and then said “What is it that sounds like our ʕaroote’s voice?”’

048 **ikka ʃilasiʕ ʕuɗaaχa lokkoo lekkaɗay ka nessasiɗ ɗakkaysanni.**

ikka	*ʃila-si?*	*ʕuɗaaχa*	*lokkoo*
and.then.3	rock-DEF.M/F	from.side.downwards	slowly

lekkaɗ-ay	*ka*	*nessa-si?*
climb.down-PF[3M]	and	voice-DEF.M/F

ɗakkaysaɗ-ni.
listen-IPF.PRES
‘Then, he slowly climbed down the rock and listened to the voice.’

049 **oo ɗakkaysanniyo asu nessa ʕarootee pahta.**

oo	*ɗakkaysaɗ-ni-yo*	*asu*	*nessa*	*a*
when.3	listen-IPF.PRES-3SGM	just	voice	GEN

ʕarooti = i	*pah-t-a*
ʕaroote = 3	resemble-3F-IPF.FUT

‘While he was listening, it was just like ʕaroote’s voice.’

050 **ikka paayyay ka kiinee ‘ʕaroote! Kee ay karaa caa?’**

ikka	*paayy-ay*	*ka*	*kiɗ-ni-e*
and.then.3	start-PF[3M]	and	say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD

‘ʛaroote! *Ke-e* *aye* *kara-a* *kiy-a-a?’*
ʛaroote! 2SG.PRO.ACC here inside-CLF be-IPF.FUT-Q
‘And then, he started saying “ʛarootte! Is it you inside here?”’

051 **iʃeennak ka kiine ‘Haaʔ ʔinnaannu anaa aykara ca.’**
iʃeenna-ʔ *ka* *kiɗ-ni-e*
3SGF.PRO-NOM and say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD

‘Haaʔ *innaa-nnu* *ana-a*
you.know child-1PL.POSS.P 1SG.PRO.ACC-CLF

aykara *kiy-a.’*
herein be-IPF.FUT
‘She then said, “You know our son, it is me who is in here.”’

052 **ikka ‘ʃilaaynu passanna pas’ kiiti**
ikka *‘ʃila-aynu* *passaɗ-na* *pas’*
and.then.3 rock-1PL.POSS.M/F detach-NMLZ IDEO

kiɗ-t-i
say-3F-PF
‘And then, she said “O rock of ours be opened!”’

053 **ʃilasikka ‘pas kiɗay’**
ʃila-siʔ-ka *‘pas* *kiɗ-ay’*
rock-DEF.M/F-and IDEO say-PF[3M]
‘And the rock got open.’

054 **ikka karaa sookti.**
ikka *kara=i* *sook-t-i*
and.then.3 in=3 exit-3F-PF
‘And the she came out.’

055 **ikka kiine ‘maanaʔ ʔaye kooni?’**
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *‘maana=iʔ*
and.then.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD what=2

aye *koɗ-ni?’*
here say-IPF.PRES
‘And then, he said “What are you doing here?”’

056 **ikka kiine ‘Ha awsee aayyaaʛ ʛeetti ka luʛʛisa piɗɗiteeyye anka piʃaaʔ ʔanninnooyye, iʃeennaʔ ʔiʛeetti ka kulpaawuppah hooffaa ʛuʔti ka inantaaɗiʔ a feyyaáɗ ɗaassi.**

ikka *kid-ni-e* *'Ha*
and.then.3 say-IPF.FUT-BKGRD you.know

awsee *aayyaa-ʔ* *ɢeed-t-i ka* *luɢɢis* *a*
that.time mother-NOM take-3F-PF and skin.skirt

pidd-t-i-eyye *anka* *piʃaa-ʔ*
buy[SG]-3F-PF-BKGRD and.then.1 water-DAT

aan-ni-nno-eyye, *iʃeenna-ʔ*
go-IPF.PRES-1PL-BKGRD 3SGF.PRO-NOM

i=ɢeed-t-i *ka* *kulpa-awu*
3=take-3F-PF and calabash-1SG.POSS.M/F

oppa-ʔ *hooffaa* *ɢud-t-i* *ka*
into-LOC holes pierce-3F-PF and

inanta-adi-ʔ *a* *feyy-aaʔ* *daaʃ-t-i.*
girl-3POSS.M/F-DAT REL be.well-P give-3F-PF
'And she said, "You know, when that day mother bought the skin skirt and we were going to fetch water, she gave me a calabash with holes, and gave her daughter one in a good condition."'

057 iʃeettaá ʔinantaadi ɢeetti ka dettow ʔoraapatti ka tayti.
iʃeettaá *inanta-adi* *ɢeed-t-i* *ka*
then girl-3SG.POSS.M/F take-3F-PF and

dettow *oraap-ad-t-i* *ka* *tay-t-i*
on.time fetch-MID-3F-PF and go.away-3F-PF
'That is why her daughter fetched water quickly and headed home soon.'

058 χayya anka oraapni ka oraapni umma immakaannincan.
χayya *anka* *oraap-ni* *ka*
mine and.then.1 fetch-IPF.PRES and

oraap-ni *umma*
fetch-IPF.PRES INTENSF.NEG

immak-aad-ni=in-kiy-a-n.
fill-INCH-IPF.PRES=3NEG-be-IPF.FUT-P
'And I was pouring water into my calabashes again and again but they were not filling up.'

058 anka issik kiine ‘Kaata maanin assi patta kala ka luɠɠisoosiɗ ɗapa?’

anka	*issi-ʔ*	*kiɗ-ni-e*
and.then.1	self-DAT	say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD

‘Kaata	*maanaʔ=in*	*assi*	*patta*
but	why=1	like.this	only

kal-a	*ka*	*luɠɠisa-siʔ*
return.home-IPF.FUT	and	skin.skirt-DEF.M/F

ɗap-aʔ
lose-IPF.FUT
‘And, I said to myself “But why should I go home without the water and lose the skin skirt?”’

059 anka oraapni ka oraapni umma immakaannincan.

anka	*oraap-ni*	*ka*	*oraap-ni*
and.then.1	fetch-IPF.PRES	and	fetch.water-IPF.PRES

umma *immak-aaɗ-ni=in-kiy-a-n.*
INTENSF.NEG fill-INCH-IPF.PRES=3NEG-be-IPF.FUT-P
‘And I was pouring water into my calabashes but they would not fill up’

060 oore letta ka oppaɗ ɗumti.

oore	*letta*	*ka*	*oppa-ʔ*	*ɗum-t-i*
then	sky	and	into-LOC	sun.down-3F-PF

‘Then, the sun went down.’

061 anka ɠeeɗay ka hotaartuppupa feyyaɗay.

anka	*ɠeeɗ-ay*	*ka*	*hotaarta-oppupa*
and.then.1	take-PF[3M]	and	acacia.sp.-into

feyyaɗ-ay.
climb.up-PF[3M]
‘And the I climbed up acacia tree.’

062 Ka kaysaa ela ɠapay ka karkaa iʃuk kaysaasiniʔ ʔotanta karam mukay.

Ka	*kaysaa*	*ɗela*	*ɠap-ay*	*ka*	*karkaa*
and	beehive.cover	upward	hold-PF[3M]	and	beehive

iʃuʔ	*kaysaa-siniʔ*	*otanta*	*kara-ʔ*
and	beehive.cover-DEF.P	middle	inside-LOC

muk-ay
sleep-PF[3M]
'And I pulled a beehive cover up and was lying between a beehive and the cover.'

063 **iʃeeɗɗaa oorine karmaa ana akkay ka ɗeyay ka kiine 'Kin ɗamam irroota sakali? ʔanan anta ka a kunɗattati? ʔana lekkissa?'**

iʃeeɗɗaa	*oorine*	*karmaa*	*ana*
then	then	lion	1SG.PRO.ACC

akk-ay	*ka*	*ɗey-ay*	*ka*
see-PF[3M]	and	come-PF[3M]	and

kiɗ-ni-e	*'Ke=in*
say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD	2SG.PRO.ACC=1

ɗam-a-m	*irroota*	*sakali=i?*
eat-IPF.FUT-or	mountain	nine=2

ana-n	*aan-t-a*	*ka*	*a*
1SG.PRO.ACC-INST	go-2-IPF.FUT	and	GEN

kuɗan-ttati-ʔ	*ana*
ten-ORD-GEN	1SG.PRO.ACC

lekkiʃ-t-a?'
step.down-DCAUS-2-IPF.FUT
'And then a lion saw me and came and said: "Shall I climb up or you come down and carry me over nine mountains and let me down on the tenth?"'

064 **anka kiɗee 'aʔ ʔana ɗamtu kapaa irroota sakalin kin aana ka a kunɗattatik ki lekkiʃa.'**

an=ka	*kiɗ-ay-e*	*'aʔ*	*ana*
1=and	say-PF[3M]-BKGD	that.2	1SG.PRO.ACC

ɗam-t-u	*kapa-a*	*irroota*	*sakal=in*
eat-2-DP	near-LOC	mountain	nine=1

ke=in	*aan-a*	*ka*	*a*
2SG.PRO.ACC=1	go-IPF.FUT	and	GEN

kunɗ-atta-ti-ʔ	*ki*	*lekkiʃ-a.'*
ten-ORD-?-LOC	2SG.PRO.ACC	put.down-IPF.FUT

‘And then, I said, “Instead of you eating me, I will carry you (SG) over nine mountains and put you (SG) down on the tenth.”’

065 **oore iʃeeɗɗaa awsitee ɗesa paayyatte ollin aye kalan.**

oore	*iʃeeɗɗaa*	*awsitee ɗesa*	*paayy-aɗ-t-i*
then	that	from.that.day	start-MID-3F-PF

ollin	*aye*	*kal-a-n*
together	here	live-IPF.FUT-P

‘It was then from that day onwards that they began living together here.’

066 **ikka kiine ‘Kuli? ʔinantaaynu aytamut tikupa ɗeʔta ka inu tooyyita?’**

ikka	*kiɗ-ni*-e	*‘Kuli?*
and.then.3	*say*-IPF.PRES-BKGRD	later

inanta-aynu	*aytamu=i?*	*tika-opa*
girl-1PL.POSS.M/F	when=2	house-to

ɗey-t-a	*ka*	*inu*	*tooyy-t-a?’*
come-3F-IPF.FUT	and	1PL.PRO[ACC]	look-3F-IPF-FUT

‘And he said, “So, sister, when will you come home and visit us?”’

067 **iʃeeɗɗaa olliχ χooraa ɠapin ikka pottaata iʃaɗ ɗaassi ika iʃan kalay.**

iʃeeɗɗaa	*olli-ʔ*	*χooraa*	*ɠap-i-n*
that.3	together-DAT	appointment	hold-PF-P

ikka	*pottaata iʃa-ʔ*
and.then.3	pumpkin	3SGM.PRO[ACC]-DAT

ɗaaʃ-t-i	*ikka*	*iʃa-n*
give-3F-PF	and.then.3	3SGM.PRO.[ACC]-PATH

kal-ay.
return.home-PF[3M]

‘So they made an appointment, and then she him a pumpkin and then he went home with it.’

068 **innaasiniχ χaayʃuʔ ʔoo tika kayin itoolak kiine ‘Haʔ ʔawwi ɠarooti χannun akkay.’**

innaa-sini?	*χaayʃu?*	*oo*	*tika*	*kay-i-n*
child-DEF.P	3PL.POSS	when	house	reach-PF-P

i=toola-ʔ	*kiɗ-ni-e ‘*	*Haʔ*
3=family-DAT	say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD	you.know

awwi *ʕarooti* *χannu=in* *akk-ay.*
today ʕarooti 1PL.POSS.SG/PL=1 see-PF[3M]
'When her brother arrived home, he said to his family, "You know, today, I saw our ʕaroote."'

069 **aappaayʃuk ka kiinee 'eeʃ! ʕarootiχ χattaw toʔtey ayʃaayyee kitta akka ʕaroote maanat torrini.'**
aappaa-ayʃuʔ *ka* *kiɗ-ni-e*
father-3PL.POSS.M/F and say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD

'eeʃ! *ʕarooti-ʔ* *χatta-w*
IDEO ʕarooti-NOM long.time.ago-already

toy-t-i-y *ayʃa* *a-yye=i* *kit-t-a*
die-3F-PF-BKGRD where -LOC=i be-3F-IPF.FUT

akka *ʕarooti ʔ* *a* *maanaá=iʔ* *torr-ni.'*
that.2 ʕaroot GEN what=2 speak-IPF.PRES
'His father said, "Keep quiet! ʕaroote passed away a long time, [and] where is she that you are talking about?"'

070 **ikka kiine 'awwin iʃeenna akkayin kiini.'**
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *'awwi =in*
and.then.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD 'today=1

iʃeenna *akk-ay=in* *kiɗ-ni.'*
3SGF.PRO[ACC] see-PF[3M]=1 say-IPF.PRES
'And he said, "I am saying that I saw her today."'

071 **ikka kiine 'ayʃaʔi?'**
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *'ayʃa-ʔi?'*
and.then.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD where-LOC
'And they said "Where?"'

072 **ikka kiine 'ʃila tokka ʕaraaχan sinɗaa sinɗaawin ka ikka kiine 'Maanaa sinɗaa ʔinnaannóʔ ʔinnaannóʔ ʔalaawin alaawin?'**
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *'ʃila* *tokka*
and.then.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD rock one.M/F

ʕaraaχa=n *sinɗaa* *sinɗaaw=in* *ka* *ikka*
on.downwards=1 urine urinate=1 and and.then.3

kiɗ-ni-e *'Maanaa* *sinɗaa* *a*
say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD what urine GEN

innaa-nnó-ʔ *a* *innaa-nnó-ʔ*
child-1PL.POSS.P-GEN GEN child-1PL.POSS.P-GEN

alaaw-i-n *alaaw-i-n?'*
smell-PF-P smell-PF-P
'And then he said, "I was urinating on a certain rock. And then someone said "What smells like my brother's urine?"'

073 **anka ɗakkaysanni ikka nessa ɢarooti χannúp paha anka lokkoote lekkaɗay ka ʃilasik kapan sookay.**
anka *ɗakkaysaɗ-ni* *ikka* *nessa* *a*
and.then.1 listen-IPF.PRES and.then.3 voice GEN

ɢarooti *χannú-ʔ* *pah-a*
ɢaroote 1PL.POSS.M/F-GEN look.like-IPF.FUT

anka *lokkoote* *lekkaɗ-ay* *ka*
and.then.1 slowly climb.down-PF[3M] and

ʃila-siʔ *kapa=in* *sook-ay.*
rock-DEF.M/F near=1 exit-PF[3M]
'And I listened to the voice and it sounded like that of our ɢaroote, so I climbed down and got close to the rock.'

074 **anka kiɗaye 'iniʔ ʔaynoó nessa ɢarooti χannoɢ ɢapa?'**
anka *kiɗ-ay-e* *'iniʔ* *ayno-ó*
and.then.1 say-PF[3]-BKGRD this who-CLF

nessa *a* *ɢarooti* *χannó-ʔ* *ɢap-a?'*
voice GEN ɢaroote 1PL.POSS-GEN have-IPF.FUT
'And then, I said, "Who is it that has the voice like our ɢaroote's?"'

075 **iʃeeɗɗaak ka kiine 'anaá aykaraa ca innaannu.'**
iʃeeɗɗaa-ʔ *ka* *kiɗ-ni-e*
3SGF.PRO-NOM and say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD

'ana-á *aye-kara-a* *kiy-a*
1SG.PRO.ACC-CLF here-in-LOC be-IPF.FUT

innaa-nnu.'
child.1PL.POSS.P
'And then she said "It is me inside here, brother."'

076 Ka ‘ʃilaaynu passannaa pas’ kiiti.

Ka	*‘ʃila-aynu*	*passaɗ-na*	*pas’ kiɗ-t-i.*
and	rock-1PL.POSS.M/F	detach-NMLZ	IDEO say-3F-PF

“And ‘O rock of ours be opened!” she said.’

077 ʃilasik ka panamay ikka karaa sookti ka akkaa aypa anti piisa ant torriti ka anka kuyyaʔtaa oppaayye tikupa ɗeʔtu kuli olliɠ ɠapni.’

ʃila-siʔ	*ka*	*pan-am-ay*	*ikka*
rock-DEF.M/F	and	open-PASS-PF[3M]	and.then.3

kara-a	*sook-t-i ka*	*akka = i*
in.LOC	exit-3F-PF	and.that = 3

aye-opa	*an-t-i*	*piisa*	*an-ʔ*
here-to	go-3F-PF	all	1SG.PRO.ACC-DAT

torr-t-i	*ka*	*anka*	*kuyyaʔta = i*	*a*
speak-3F-PF	and	and.then.1	day = 3	that

oppaa-yye	*tika-opa*	*ɗey-t-u*	*kuli*	*olli-ʔ*
in-BKGRD	house-to	come-3F-DP	also	together-DAT

ɠap-n-i.’
hold-1PL-PF
‘And the rock got opened and she came out of hiding and told me how she ended up there. And then we set an appointment for her to come over and visit us here.’

078 oore kuyyaʔtasik kayti ka toolasik ka tikaayʃuh harmisaɗay.

oore	*kuyyaʔta-siʔ*	*kay-t-i*	*ka*
and.then	day-DEF.M/F	reach-3F-PF	and

toola-siʔ	*ka*	*tika-ayʃuʔ*
family-DEF.M/F	and	house-1PL.POSS.M/F

harmiʃ-aɗ-ay
prepare-MID-PF[3M]
‘When the appointment day came closer, the family prepared their house [to receive their girl].’

079 ɠarootiɠ ɠootaa aappaaɗi ayen kinnin malla a ɗeʔnaχ χaʔnittooyye ipaayyiti ka kiine ‘attan tika patta ayiɗ ɗiiʃaʔ’

ɠarooti-ʔ *ɠoota=i* *aappaa-adi* *aye=in*
ɠarooti-NOM that=3 husband-3POSS.MF here=3NEG

kit-ni-n *malla* *a* *ɗey-na-ʔ*
be-IPF.PRES-NEG reason when come-NMLZ-DAT

χaʔ-ni-tto-oyye *i=paayy-t-i*
rise-IPF.PRES-PROG-BKGRD 3=start-3F-PF

ka *kiɗ-ni-e* *ʻatta=in* *tika*
and say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD how=1 house

patta *aye-ʔ* *ɗiiʃ-a?ʼʼ*
only here-LOC stop-IPF.FUT
‘ɠaroote’s husband was not at home and when she was about to start going to her parent’s house, she said “How can I leave the house without anybody inside?”’

080 Ka ɠeetti ka sookti ka raaka takka ʃilasiχ χaayʃuk kapaayye ɠoraa ɠoroonnitu akkiti ka anti ka ɗehamti.
Ka *ɠeeɗ-t-i* *ka* *sook-t-i* *ka* *raaka*
and take-3F-PF and exit-3F-PF and old.woman

takka *ʃila-siʔ* *χaayʃuʔ* *kapa-ayye*
one.F rock-DEF.M/F 3PL.POSS.M/F near-LOC

ɠoraa *ɠoroɔɗ-ni-t-u* *akk-t-i*
firewood collect.firewood-IPF.PRES-3F-DP see-3F-PF

ka *an-t-i* *ka* *ɗeham-t-i.*
and go-3F-PF and advise-3F-PF
‘And then she went out and found an old woman who was collecting firewood near their rock, and and she went over and advised her.’

081 Ka oo aappaawu kalliyooyye ka kiiniyo ‘Faayu faayo, faayo, faayo. ilɗaa fanɠallaa faayo, faayo. Soysa faʃʃafaʃaa faayo faayo. Kasaraa faʃʃaanaa faayo faayo,’ ikkiitaaʔe ‘χuutti χuutte χuutte χutte. ilɗaa χurpannaa χuutte χuutte. Mattan χuttaytoo χuutte, χuutte. Kuyyanta ɠuɗaa ropa, ropa’ kiɗi.
Ka *oo* *aappaa-awu*
and when.3 husband-1SG.POSS.M/F

kal-ni-yo-oyye *ka*
return.home-IPF.PRES-3SGM-BKGRD and

kiɗ-ni-yo	*‘Faayo,*	*faayo,*	*faayo*	
say-IPF.PRES-3SGM	faayo,		faayo	faayo.

ilɗaa	*fanɠallaa*	*faayo,*	*faayo.*	*Kasaraa*
eyes	splinters	faayo,	faayo.	braids

faɟɟaanaa	*faayo*	*faayo.*	*Soysa*	*faɟɟaɟ-aa*
handful faayo	faayo.	skirt	IDEO-NMLZ	

faayo	*faayo,’*	*i?=kiɗ-t-a-?*
faayo,	faayo	2=say-2-IPF.FUT-DAT

‘χuutti	*χuutte*	*χutte*	*χuutte*	*ilɗaa*
χuutti	χuutte	χuutte	χutte.	eyes

χurpannaa	*χuutte*	*χuutte.*	*Matta-n*
logs	χuutte	χuutte.	head-INST

χutt-ayt-o	*χuutte,*	*χuutte.*
be.big-AGENT-VOC	χuutte	χuutte

Kuyyanta	*ɠuɗa=i*	*rop-a,*	*rop-a.’*
day	on.side=3	rub-IPF.FUT	rub-IPF.FUT

‘When my husband comes and says “Faayu, faayo, faayo, faayo. Eyes like splinters faayo, faayo, clinking skirt faayo, faayo,” you (SG) should say, “χuutti χuutte χuutte χutte. Big-eyed χuutte χuutte. Big-headed χuutte χuutte. You (SG) rub [kill] in the the daytime.”’

082 **oo annittooyye, iɠeetti ka hinkiikkataa pohatti ka pohatti ka poruppan ɗela luukiyan hakaa tikasee χatta oppaa ɗalatti kaynittu?e ɠoffallaa is-kamman ɗakkiti.**

oo	*aan-ni-tto-oyye,*	*i=ɠeeɗ-t-i*
when.3	go-IPF.PRES-3SGF-BKGRD	3=take-3F-PF

ka	*hinkiikkata*	*poh-aɗ-t-i*	*ka*
and	*hinkiikkata*	pick-MID-3F-PF	and

poh-aɗ-t-i	*ka*	*pora-oppa-n*	*ɗela*
pick-MID-3F-PF	and	road-into-INST	upwards

luuk-iya-n	*haka*	*tika-se*	*a*
eat.fruit-VN-PATH	until	house-DEF.M/F	REL

χatta	*oppa-a*	*ɗal-aɗ-t-i*
long.time.ago	into-LOC	beget-MID-3F-PF

kay-ni-ttu-ʔ=i	*ɠoffallaa*
reach-IPF.PRES-3SGF-LOC=3	skins

is-kamma-n	*ɗakk-t-i.*
self-after-PATH	throw.PL-3F-PF

‘While she was going to her parents’ place, she picked lots of *hinkiik-kta* fruits and until she reached the place where she was born, she ate the fruits and dropped the skins behind her.’

083 oo tikan sookteeyee, toolaayʃuʔ ʔalleeta kelapaa iʃeenna kulliʃay ka kanta ɗamtah haliyay.

ʔoo	*tika-n*	*sook-t-i-eyee,*
when.3	house-PATH	exit-3F-PF-BKGRD

toola-ayʃuʔ	*alleeta*	*kela-opa=i*
family-3PL.POSS.M/F	hut	under-to=3

iʃeenna	*kull-ʃ-ay*	*ka*
3SGF.PRO[ACC]	enter-DCAUS-PF[3M]	and

kanta	*ɗamta-ʔ*	*haliy-ay.*
neighbours	food-DAT	call-PF[3M]

‘When she arrived, her parents had her enter into the hut and called the neighbours for food.’

084 Karmaasiʔ ʔoorine ikalay ka kiine ‘Faayu faayo, faayo, faayo. ilɗaa fanɠallaa faayo, faayo. Soysa faʃfaʃaa faayo faayo. Kasaraa faʃʃaanaa faayo faayo.’

Karmaa-siʔ	*oorine*	*i=kal-ay*
lion-DEF.M/F	then	3=return.home-PF[3M]

ka	*kiɗ-ni*	*‘χuutti*
and	say-IPF.PRES	χuutti

χuutte	*χutte*	*χuutte*	*ilɗaa*	*χurpannaa*
χuutte	χuutte	χutte.	eyes	logs

χuutte	*χuutte.*	*Matta-n*	*χutt-ayt-o*
χuutte	χuutte.	head-INST	be.big-AGENT-VOC

χuutte,	*χuutte.*	*Kuyyanta*	*ɠuɗa=i*
χuutte	χuutte	day	on.side=3

rop-a, *rop-a.'*
rub-IPF.FUT rub-IPF.FUT
'And then, the lion came home from hunting and said, "χuutti χuutte χuutte χutte. Big-eyed χuutte χuutte. Big-headed χuutte χuutte. You (SG) rub [kill] in the the daytime.'

085 **Kammaayye, raakasik ka paayyitew ka kiine 'χuutti χuutte χuutte χutte. ilɗaa χurpannaa χuutte χuutte. Mattan χuttaytoo χuutte, χuutte. Kuyyanta ɠuɗaa ropa, ropa.'**

Kammaa-ayye *raaka-si?* *ka*
after-BKGRD old.woman-DEF.M/F and

paayy-t-i-ew *ka* *kiɗ-ni* *'χuutti*
start-3F-PF-again and say-IPF.PRES χuutti

χuutte *χutte* *χuutte* *ilɗaa* *χurpannaa*
χuutte χuutte χutte. eyes logs

χuutte *χuutte.* *Matta-n χutt-ayt-o*
χuutte χuutte. head-INST be.big-AGENT-VOC

χuutte, *χuutte.* *Kuyyanta* *ɠuɗa=i*
χuutte χuutte day on.side=3

rop-a, *rop-a.'*
rub-IPF.FUT rub-IPF.FUT
'And after that the old woman started saying [with a coarse voice], "'χuutti χuutte χuutte χutte. Big-eyed χuutte χuutte. Big-headed χuutte χuutte. You (SG) rub [kill] in the daytime."'

086 **ikka paayyay ka kiine 'ee! awwi maanaa ki paayyay ka nessaayti ka assi paha?'**

ikka *paayy-ay* *ka* *kiɗ-ni-e*
and.then.3 start-PF[3M] and say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD

'ee! *awwi* *maanaa* *ki* *paayy-ay*
Wow! today what 2SG.PRO.ACC start-PF[3M]

ka *nessa-ayti* *ka* *assi*
and voice-2SG.POSS.M/F and like.this

pah-a
resemble-IPF.FUT

‘And then, he started saying, “Wow! What has happened to you (SG) today that your voice is like that?’’

087 ɠeedi ka ɠoʔtaayti kara harmisaɗu!’
ɠeed-i *ka* *ɠoʔta-ayti* *kara* *harmʃ-aɗ-u!’*
take-IMP.SG and throat-2SG.POSS.M/F in prepare-MID-OPT
‘And clear you throat!’

088 ikka harmisatti.
ikka *harmʃ-aɗ-t-i*
and.then.3 prepare-MID-3F-PF
‘And then she prepared herself.’

089 ikka paayyayew ka kiine ‘Faayu faayo, faayo, faayo. ilɗaa fanɠallaa faayo, faayo. Soysa faʃfaʃaa faayo faayo. Kasaraa faʃʃaanaa faayo faayo.’
ikka *paayy-ay-ew* *ka*
and.the.3 start-PF[3M]-again and

kiɗ-ni-e *‘Faayu* *faayo,* *faayo,*
say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD faayu faayo faayo

ilɗaa *fanɠallaa* *faayo,* *faayo.* *Kasaraa*
eyes splinters faayo, faayo. braids

faʃʃaanaa *faayo* *faayo.* *Soysa* *faʃfaʃ-aa*
handful faayo faayo. skirt IDEO-NMLZ

faayo *faayo’*
faayo, faayo
‘And again he said, “Faayu, faayo, faayo, faayo. Eyes like splinters faayo, faayo, clinking skirt faayo, faayo.”

090 Raakasik ka nessasee paayyutatinnew kiiti.
Raaka-si? *ka* *nessa-se* *a*
old.woman-DEF.F and voice-DEF.M/F GEN

paayy-uta-tinn-ew *kiɗ-t-i.*
start-ORD-INST-again say-3F-PF
‘And the old woman welcomed the lion with the same voice as before.’

091 ikka miirooɗay ka ‘ʃilaaynu passannaa pas’ kiɗay ka ela kullay.
ikka *miirooɗ-ay* *ka* *‘ʃila-aynu*
and.then.3 be.angry-PF[3M] and rock-1PL.POSS.M/F

passad-na *pas'* *kid-ay* *ka* *ela* *kull-ay.*
detach-NMLZ IDEO say-PF[3M] and up enter-PF[3M]
'And then he got angry and said, "O rock of ours be opened. And went into the rock house.'

092 oo kullay raaka kokeettitaa aye ca.
oo *kull-ay* *raaka* *kokeettita=i*
when enter-PF[3M old.woman skinny=3

aye *kiy-a.*
here be-IPF.FUT
'When he entered, he found a skinny old woman.'

093 Ka ɠeeɗay ka apittuppaɗ ɗela raakasik katay ka ɠeeɗay ka ɲaɠaw kiʔʃay.
Ka *ɠeeɗ-ay* *ka* *apitta-oppa-ʔ*
and take-PF[3M] and fire-into-LOC

ɗela *raaka-siʔ* *kat-ay* *ka*
upward old.woman-DEF.F throw-PF[3M] and

ɠeeɗ-ay *ka* *ɲaɠaw* *kid-ʃ-ay.*
take-PF[3M] and IDEO say-DCAUS-PF[3M]
'And then he threw the old woman into the fire, [and after a while] took her out of the fire and put her in his mouth and then swallowed her'

094 Ka sookay ka ahtasiχ χaadi faɗiya paayyay.
Ka *sook-ay* *ka* *ahta-siʔ* *χaadi*
and exit-PF[3M] and wife-DEF.M 3POSS.M

faɗ-iya *paayy-ay*
find-NMLZ start-PF[3M]
'And he went out and started to look for his wife.'

095 oo faɗɗiniyooyye ɠolfaa a hinkiikkatáʔ ʔa poruppan ɗela olkammaʃ ʃirfayeʔe ʔakkay ka ollew aanay aanay.
oo *faɗɗ-ni-yo-oyye* *ɠolfaa* *a*
when.3 find.SG-IPF.PRES-3SGM-BKGRD skin GEN

hinkiikkatá-ʔ *a* *pora-oppa-n* *ɗela*
tree.sp.-GEN REL road-into-PATH upward

ol-kamma-ʔ *ʃirf-ay-eʔ=i* *akk-ay* *ka*
together-after-LOC line.up-PF[3M]-P=3 see-PF[3M] and

olle-w *aan-ay* *aan-ay.*
together-again go-PF[3M] go-PF[3M]
'While he was looking for her, he saw *hinkiikata* peels which were lying in a long row and he followed them.'

096 Ka olle aanay ka tikasee ahtaadi karpa kulliti kapan sookay.
Ka *olle* *aan-ay* *ka* *tika-se*
and together go-PF[3M] go-PF[3M] and house-DEF

a *ahta-adi* *kara-opa* *kull-t-i*
that wife-3SG.POSS.M in-to enter-3F-PF

kapa-n *sook-ay.*
near-PATH exit-PF[3M]
'And then he followed the *hinkiikkata* peels and reached the house into which his wife had entered.'

097 Ka karpa kullay.
Ka *kara-opa* *kull-ay.*
and in-to enter-PF[3M]
'And he went in.'

098 oo kullay kammaa orra lakaytaa ʔakkay ka kiine 'ahtaawu ɗaaʃa!'
oo *kull-ay* *kammaaorra* *lekayta=i*
when.3 enter-PF[3M] after people many=3

ʔakk-ay *ka* *kiɗ-ni-e*
see-PF[3M] and say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD

'ahta-awu *ɗaaʃ-a!'*
wife-1SG.POSS.M give-IMP.PL
'After he entered, he saw many people and said, "(You (PL)) Give me my wife!"'

100 ikka kiine 'ahtaayti ayen kittu.'
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *'ahta-ayti*
and.then.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD wife-2SG.POSS.M

aye=in kit-t-u.'
here=3NEG be-3F-NEG
'And they said, "Your wife is not here."'

101 ikka oppaʔ ʔooray ka kiine 'ahtaawu ɗaaʃa!'

ikka *oppa-ʔ* *oor-ay* *ka*
and.then.3 into-LOC repeat-PF[3M] and

kiɗ-ni-e *ʻahta-awu* *ɗaaʃ-a!ʼ*
say-IPF.PRES.BKGRD wife-1SG.POSS.M give-IMP.SG
‘And then he repeated and said ‘(You (PL)) Give my wife back!”’

102 **ikka kiine ‘ahtayti ʔayen kittu.’**
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *ʻahta-ayti*
and.then.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD wife-2SG.POSS.M

aye=in *kit-t-u.ʼ*
here=3NEG be-3F-NEG
‘And they said, “Your wife is not here.”’

103 **ikka kiine ‘aχχaykittaay kutiʔi ka ɗamta ɗami ka kuliʔin torriyaannay.’**
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *ʻaʔ=χaykitta-ay*
and.then.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD 2=guest-BKGRD

kutiʔ-i *ka* *ɗamta* *ɗam-i* *ka*
sit.down-IPM.SG and food eat-IMP.SG and

kuliʔ=in *torriy-aaɗ-n-a-y.ʼ*
later=1 speak-MID-1PL-IPF.FUT-BKGRD
‘And then they said, “Since you (SG) are a guest, sit down and have some food, and we shall discuss later!”’

104 **ikka kiine ‘anheenu. ahtaawow anaɗ ɗaaʃa!’**
ikka *kiɗ-ni-e* *ʻan=heen-u.*
and.then.3 say-IPF.PRESBKGRD 1NEG=want-NEG

ahta-awu-w *ana-ʔ*
wife-1SG.POSS.M/F-only 1SG.PRO.ACC-DAT

ɗaaʃ-a!ʼ
give-IMP.PL
‘And then he said, “I do not want [to sit down]. (You (PL)) just give my wife back!’’

105 **ikka ɠeedin ka ahsiχ χaadi ɠuɗap palatteewwaa hidin ka napan iʃeenna ɗaʔtin.**
ikka *ka* *ɠeeɗ-i-n* *ka* *ahta-siʔ*
when.3 and take-PF-P and wife-DEF.M/F

χaadi	*ɢuda-ʔ*	*palatteewwaa*
3POSS.M/F	on-LOC	pieces.of.cloth.for.holding.pot

hiɗ-i-n	*ka*	*napa-n*	*iʃeenna*
tie-PF-P	and	soot-INST	3SGF.PRO[ACC]

ɗaʔt-i-n.
paint-PF-P
'And then, they put rags on his wife and also painted her with soot.'

106 **oore ikka ɢeedin ka tuparraa alleeta kelaa ca takka takkaa sookinni ka kiine 'iniʔe?'**

oore	*ikka*	*ɢeed-i-n*	*ka*	*tuparraa*	*alleeta*
then	and.then.3	take-PF-P	and	girls	hut

kela=i	*kiy-a*	*takka*	*takka*
under=3	be-IPF.FUT	one	one

sook-ʃ-ni	*ka*	*kiɗ-ni-e*	*'iniʔ-e?'*
exit-DCUAS-IPF.PRES	and	say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD	this.one-Q

'And then, they started bringing the grils inside the hut out one by one and for each girl they said, "Is this one her?"'

107 **ikka kiine 'ininninn.'**

ikka	*kiɗ-ni-e*	*'ininninn.'*
and.then.3	say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD	not.this.one

'And then he said, "Not this one."

108 **opan ka amma apliyaas sookin ka kiine ''iniʔee?'**

opan	*ka*	*amma*	*apliyaaʔ*
	and	now	another

sook-ʃ-i-n	*ka*	*kiɗ-ni-e*
exit-DCAUS-PF-P	and	say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD

'iniʔ-e?'
this.one-Q
'And they made another [girl] come out and asked him "Is this one her?"'

109 **ikka kiine 'ininninn.'**

ikka	*kiɗ-ni-e*	*'ini-inninn.'*
and.then.3	say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD	this.one-not

'And then he said, "Not this one."'

110 oo iskatta atooka sookay kammaayye iɢeedin ka ahsiχ χaadi sookʃin ka kiine ‘iniʔe?’

oo	*iskatta*	*atooka*	*sook-ay*
when.3	women	other	exit-PF[3M]

kammaa-ayye	*i=ɢeed-i-n*	*ka*	*ahta-siʔ*
after-BKGRD	3=take-PF-P	and	wife-DEF.M/F

χaadi	*sook-ʃ-i-n*	*ka*
3POSS.M/F	exit-DCAUS-PF-P	and

kid-ni-e	*‘iniʔ-e?’*
say-IPF.PRES.BKGRD	this.one-Q

‘After the other women came out of the hut, they had made his wife come out of the hut and asked him, “Is this one her?”’

111 ikka kiine ‘aa.’

ikka	*kid-ni-e*	*‘aa.’*
and.then.3	say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD	yes

‘And he said, “Yes!”’

112 oorine ikka iʃak kidine χaykumak kutiʔi.

oorine	*ikka*	*iʃa-ʔ*
then	and.then.3	3SGM.PRO-NOM

kid-i-n-e	*χaykuma-ʔ*	*kutiʔ-i.*
say-PF-P-BKGRD	guest.ABS-DAT	sit.down-IMP.SG

‘And then they asked him and said, “(You (SG) Sit down as a guest!”’

113 ikka kutiʔay.

ikka	*kutiʔ-ay.*
and.then.3	sit.down-PF[3M]

‘And then he sat down.’

114 Sikkammaa ooree meertaa ɢalin ka uupeeyye ɢeedin ka oktaappap paltittaa χarʃin.

Sikkammaa	*ooree*	*meertaa*	*ɢal-i-n*
after.that	then	fattened.ox	slaughter-PF-P

ka	*uupe-eyye*	*ɢeed-i-n*	*ka*	*okta-oppa-ʔ*
and	knowingly-BKGRD	take-PF-P	and	pot-into-LOC

paltittaa χarʃ-i-n.
white.rock cook[beans]-PF-P

‘After that they brought a fattened ox and slaughtered it but instead of the meat, they knowingly put a piece of white rock in the pot.’

115 **Ka paltittasiʢ ʢeedin ka kiine ‘apuyya apuyya kee kokkookeey χooyi ka ʢaraa ɲaχi!’**

Ka	*paltitta-si?*	*ʢeed-i-n*	*ka*
and	white.rock-DEF.M/F	take-PF-P	and

kiʢ-ni-e	*‘apuyya*	*apuyya*
say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD	uncle	uncle

ke-e	*kokkook-i-ey*
2SG.PRO[ACC]-CLF	be.strong-PF-BKGRD

χooy-i	*ka*	*ʢara-a ɲaχ-i!*
come-IMP.SG	and	on-LOCdish.out-IMP.SG

‘And then, they said [to the lion] “Uncle, uncle, come and dish out the stuff from the pot as it is you who is strong enough to do so!”’

116 **ikka oowsaʢay.**

ikka	*oowʃaʢ-ay*
and.then.3	agree-PF[3M]

‘And then he agreed.’

117 **oo ɲaχniyooyye, oktaasik ka paʢti ka piʃaasinikka ʢarap tuʢmaʢin.**

oo	*ɲaχ-ni-yo-oyye,*	*okta-asi?*
when	dish.out-IPF.PRES-3SGM-BKGRD	pot-DEF.M/F

ka	*paʢ-t-i*	*ka*	*piʃaa-sini?*	*ikka*
and	break-3F-PF	and	water-DEF.P	and.then.3

ʢara-pa	*tuʢmaʢ-i-n.*
on-to	be.spilled-PF-P

‘When he was dishing out, the pot broke, and then the [hot] water spilled all over him’

118 **ikka akata male luʢʢay.**

ikka	*akata*	*male*	*luʢʢ-ay.*
and.then.3	very	much	scald-PF[3M]

‘And then he was very badly scalded.’

119 **Paltitasik ka iʃa ʢarap piʔayew.**

Paltitasi?	*ka*	*iʃa*	*ʢara-ʔ*
white.rock-DEF.M/F	and	3SGM.PRO[ACC]	on-LOC

piʔ-ay-ew.
fall-PF[3M]-again
'And again, the white rock fell on him.'

120 **Karmaasiʔ ʔoo toʔniyooyye sakaa sakay ka kiine 'oo kokaawu issaltan ʔikka kokooyye ɠarooti pattaa issalmaa ʔoppaayye huuɓa ɗiiʃeeyye nama a piliya inhuuɓu.'**

Karmaa-siʔ	*oo*	*toy-ni-yo-oyye*
lion-DEF.M	when.3	die-IPF.PRES-3SGM-BKGRD

saka=i	*sak-ay*	*ka*	*kiɗ-ni-e*
will=3	will-PF[3M]	and	say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD

'oo=iʔ	*kokaa-awu*	*issal-t-a-n*
when=2	skin-1SG.POSS.M/F	peg-2-IPF.FUT-P

ikka	*kok-o-oyye*	*ɠarooti*	*patta=i*
and.then.3	be.dry-DP-BKGRD	ɠaroote	only=3

issalmaa	*oppa-a-ayye*	*huuɓ-a*
pegs	in-LOC-LOC	pull.PL-IPF.FUT

ɗiiʃe-eyye	*nama*	*ʔa*	*piliya*
otherwise-BKGRD	person	REL	other

in=huuɓ-u.'
3NEG=pull.PL-NEG.
'While the lion was dying, he pronounced his last wishes and said, "After you (P) spread my skin to dry, nobody except ɠaroote must pull the pegs."'

121 **oo karmaasiɠ ɠalin ka kokaasiχ χaadi issalin ikka kallaptaawnittooyye roopaa ayee deʔni.**

oo	*karmaa-siʔ*	*ɠal-i-n*	*ka*
when.3	lion-DEF.M/F	slaughter-PF-P	and

kokaa-siʔ	*χaadi*	*issal-i-n*	*ikka*
skin-DEF.M	3SG.POSS.M/F	peg-PF-P	and.then.3

a	*kallapta-aw-ni-tto-oyye*	*roopa*
when	late.evening-VL-IPF.PRES-3SGF-BKGR	rain

ka	*aye=i*	*dey-ni.*
and	here=3	come-IPF.PRES

‘When they slaughtered the lion and spread its skin to dry and when it was becoming a late afternoon, rain was coming.’

122 **ikka kiine ‘aana ka kokaase a appaase ɠarooti huuɓɓa!’**

ikka	*kiɗ-ni-e*	*aan-a*	*ka*
and.then.3	say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD	go-IMP.PL	and

kokaa-se	*a*	*appaa-se*	*ɠarooti*
hide-DEF.M	GEN	husband-DEF.M/F	ɠarooti

huuɓɓ-a!’
pull.SG-IMP.PL
‘And they said, “(You (PL)) Go and pull the hide of ɠaroote’s husband!”’

123 **ikka aanin ka issalmaa huuɓin ka huuɓin ka a oppaa caa huuɓin ma issalmitta tokkaa orra malaalay.**

ikka	*aan-i-n*	*ka*	*issalmaa*	*huuɓ-i-n*
and.then.3	go-PF-P	and	pegs	pull.PL-PF-P

ka	*huuɓ-i-n*	*ka*	*a*	*oppaa*	*kiy-a*
and	pull.PL-PF-P	and	REL	into	be-IPF.FUT

huuɓ-i-n	*ma*	*issalmitta*	*tokka = i*	*orra*
pull.PL-PF-P	but	peg	one = 3	people

malaal-ay.
be.unable.to-PF[3M]
‘And then they went and [started] pulling the pegs from the skin but one peg refused to be pulled out.’

124 **opa ka ekkayʃin ka ekkayʃin ka malaalin.**

opa	*ka*	*ekkayʃ-i-n*	*ka*	*ekkayʃ-i-n*	*ka*
and.then	and	try-PF-P	and	try-PF-P	and

malaal-i-n.
be.unable.to-PF-P
‘And then they tried and tried but were unable to pull it.’

125 **ikka kiine ‘Nammay! aana ka ahsiχ χaaɗi haliya ikka ɗeʔtu ka huuɓɓitu.’**

ikka	*kiɗ-ni-e*	*‘Nammay!*
and.then.3	say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD	guys

an-a *ka* *ahta-si? χaadi*
go-IMP.PL and wife-DEF.F 3SG.POSS.M

haliy-a *ikka* *ɗey-t-u* *ka*
call-IMP.PL and.then.3 come-3F-OPT and

huuɓɓ-t-u.'
pull.SG-3F-OPT
'And they said, "Men! Go and call upon his wife and let her come and pull it [the peg] out"'

126 oore ɠarootesik ka ɗe?ti ka takkan tafti issalimittasi.
oore *ɠaroote-si?* *ka* *ɗey-t-i*
then ɠaroote-DEF.M/F and come-3F-PF

ka *takka-n* *taf-t-i* *issalimitt-asi*
and one-FREQ grab-3F-PF peg-DEF.M/F
'Then ɠaroote came and pulled the peg at once. '

127 issalmittasi? ?itturaʔee iʃeenna ɠeeɗay ka kokaasi? ?ollin moontupa tayin.
issalmitta-si? *is-tura-ʔ=i* *iʃeenna*
peg-DEF.M/F self-in.front-LOC=3 3SGF.PRO[ACC]

ɠeed-ay *ka* *kokaa-si?* *olli-n*
take-PF[3M] and skin-DEF.M/F together-INST

moonta-opa *tay-i-n.*
sky-to depart-PF-P
'The peg took her straight away and together with the skin they departed to the sky.'

128 awsite ɗesa paayyatte ini ɗuutiniyo anka ɠaʔawwaa kiininno, kokaase a aappaase ɠarooti.
awsite *ɗesa* *paayy-aɗ-t-i* *ini*
that.time from start-MID-3F-PF this.one

ɗuut-ni-yo *anka* *ɠaʔawwaa*
thunder-IPF.PRES-3SGM that.1 thunder

kiɗ-ni-nno, *kokaa-se* *a* *aappaa-se*
say-IPF.PRES-1PL skin-DEF.M GEN husband-DEF.M

a *ɠarooti.*
GEN ɠaroote

‘From that day onwards this thing that thunders and that we call it thunder is the skin of ʕaroote’s husband.’

129 **akkamsim minaʔew, awsitee ɗesa paayyatte hankaaɗoosip ‘pilliiʃ’ ki-iniyo ka hankaaʔniyo, iniʕ ʕarʕarootasee ʕarootí.**

akkama-siʔ	*minaʔ-ew,*	*awsite*	*ɗesa*
like.that-DEF.M/F	like.that-again	that.time	from

paayy-aɗ-t-i	*hankaaɗa-osiʔ*	*‘pilliiʃ’*
start-MID-3F-PF	lightning-DEM.M/F	IDEO

kiɗ-ni-yo	*ka*	*hankaaɗ-ni-yo,*
say-IPF.PRES-3SGM	and	lighten-IPF.PRES-3SGM

iniʔ	*ʕarʕaroota-se*	*a*	*ʕarotí-ʔ.*
this.one	hair.pin-DEF.F	GEN	ʕaroote-GEN

‘Similarly, since that day, the lightning that flashes [in the storm] is ʕaroote’s hairpin.’

15. List of nouns

In this chapter, I provide a wordlist of nouns. I give the gender values for the single nouns because the gender value for nouns with plurative suffixes or P gender impose a plural gender value. For matters of space, I provide glosses only for single references.

Single	Multiple and (P)	gloss
aannaa (P)	aannaɗaa	'milk'
aannata (F)	aannawwaa	'limestone'
aataa (P)	aataɗɗaa	'culture'
apuyyaata (M)	apuyyaawwaa	'maternal uncle'
aɗa (M)	aɗɗaa	'cheek'
afaa (P)	afaɗɗaa	'mouth, language'
alkitta (M)	alkiyyaa	'sisal'
ama (M)	amaɗɗaa	'breast'
ammaʔitta (M)	ammaʔiyyaa	'breakfast'
apteenta (M)	apteenaa, ~ɗɗaa	'snow'
apuyyaata (M)	apuyyaawwaa	'maternal uncle'
arasaa (P)	arasaɗɗaa	'local beer made for sale'
armayta (M)	armayaa	'cold, flu'
arpa (M)	arpaɗaa	'elephant'
arpatta (M)	arpattaɗɗaa	grass species
arrapa (M)	arrappaa	'tongue'
aχawuta (F)	aχawuwwaa	'roasted grain (for food)'
aykitta (M)	aykiyyaa	grass species
ayleennata (F)	ayleennawwaa	bean species
eennaa (P)	eennaɗaa	'field without huts in a town'
eetuta (F)	eetuwwaa	'dinner, supper'
ekerta (M)	ekeraa (P)	'olive'
ekta (F)	ekaa (P), ~ɗaa	'tail'
ela (F)	ellaa	'(water) well'
elalaa (P)	elalaɗɗaa	'cowrie'
ellaa (P)	ellaɗaa	'spirit (e.g. of a well)'
erkanaa (P)	erkanaɗɗaa	'message'
ikkaamaa (P)	ikkaamaɗɗaa	'selected seeds'
ikkirteeta (F)	ikkiraa, ~ɗɗaa	'louse'
ililaa (M)	ililaɗɗaa	cockroach species
ilkitta (M)	ilkaa (P), ~iyyaa	'tooth'
ilmaamaa (P)	ilmaamaɗɗaa	'tear'
ipsaa (P)	ipsaɗaa	'light'

irɲa (M)	irɲaɗaa	‘gum’
irroota (F)	irroowwaa	‘mountain’
ohta (F)	ohawwaa	‘cloth (worn in the night)’
okkatta (M)	okkaa, ~yaa	‘cow’
ollaʔta (F)	ollaʔawwaa	‘leaf’
olsaa (P)	olsaɗaa	‘dream’
oraaraa (P)	oraaraɗɗaa	‘cloud (in the sky)’
oraayta (M)	oraayaa	‘hyena’
orritta (M)	orriyyaa	‘devil’
oχinta (F)	oχinaa, ~ɗɗaa	‘fence’
oytaa (P)	oytaɗaa	‘upper part of homestead’
uffaata (F)	uffaawwaa	‘gull bladder, balloon’
ukkaʃʃa (M)	ukkaʃʃaɗɗaa	‘husk’
ukukkaa (P)	ukukkaɗɗaa	‘egg’
unɕulaa (P)	unɕuladɗaa	‘grain store from bamboo’
urmalaa (P)	urmaladɗaa	‘market’
urratta (M)	urrattaɗɗaa	‘mist’
utaa (P)	utaɗɗaa	‘faeces’
utturayta (M)	utturayaa	‘front apron of woman’s skirt’
uusa (M)	uussaa, ~ɗɗaa	‘undigested food’
uuʃaa (P)	uuʃaɗɗaa	‘little rain’
uwwaa (P)	uwwaɗaa	‘dress’
ʃaɓɓaa (M)	ʃaɓɓaɗaa	‘weed’
ʃaɓɓeernaa (P)	ʃaɓɓeernaɗɗaa	‘cartridge belt’
ʃalanʃalleeta (F)	ʃalanʃalleewwaa	plant species
ʃalaɕɕitta (M)	ʃalaɕɕaa, ~iyyaa	‘flat stone’
ʃapara (M)	ʃaparraa	‘rig’
ʃifeeta (F)	ʃifeewwaa	‘ring’
ʃiiʃaa (P)	ʃiiʃaɗɗaa	‘curse’
ʃileeta (F)	ʃileewwaa	‘stick used by old women’
ʃinfoota (F)	ʃinfoowwaa	‘stick with a sharp end’
ʃiritta (M)	ʃiriyyaa	‘bracelet’
ʃooɕɕita (F)	ʃooɕɕiwwaa	‘mud’
ʃorrooɕaa (P)	ʃorrooɕaɗɗaa	‘eye discharge’
ʃureeta (F)	ʃureewwaa	‘dirt’
ʃurka (M)	ʃurkaɗaa	‘milk during pregnancy’
ʃuruɕaanta (M)	ʃuruɕaanaa	bird species
ʃuuɓɓata (F)	ʃuuɓɓawwaa	cactus species
ɗaʔta (M)	ɗaʔtaɗɗaa	‘butter’
ɗaammaa (M)	ɗaammaɗaa	‘flour’
ɗahannaata (F)	ɗahannaawwaa	‘gourd’

ɗakaa (M)	ɗaka(ɗ)ɗaa	‘stone’
ɗalta (F)	ɗaltaɗaa	‘seed’
ɗaltayta (M)	ɗaltayaa	‘relative’
ɗamayta (M)	ɗamayaa	‘wind’
ɗankaa (M)	ɗankaɗaa	‘throat’
ɗapna (M)	ɗapnannaa, ~ɗaa	‘temple’
ɗarɗaa (P)	ɗarɗaɗaa	‘lie, untruth’
ɗeeputa (F)	ɗeepuwwaa	‘thirst’
ɗehamtaa (M)	ɗehamtaɗɗaa	‘advice, consultation’
ɗiika (M)	ɗiikkaa	‘blood’
ɗikla (M)	ɗiklallaa	‘elbow’
ɗila (M)	ɗillaa	‘field’
ɗitiitaa (M)	ɗitiitaɗɗaa	‘sweat’
ɗoʔayta (M)	ɗoʔayaa	‘hide for carrying things in’
ɗompolta (F)	ɗompolaa	‘chunk of dry soil’
ɗooʃʃaa (P)	ɗooʃʃaɗaa	‘sarcasm’
ɗukayta (M)	ɗukayaa	‘hedge’
ɗumaata (M)	ɗumaataɗɗaa	‘sunset, sundown’
ɗuttana (M)	ɗuttannaa	‘belly’
ɗuukaamaa (P)	ɗuukaamaɗɗaa	‘boil (swelling)’
ɗuusuta (F)	ɗuusuwwaa	‘fart’
fanɠala (M)	fanɠallaa	‘splinter’
faroota (F)	faroowwaa	‘omen, luck’
farta (F)	fartaɗaa	‘horse’
filaa (P)	filaɗɗaa	‘comb’
fillayyaata (F)	fillayyaawwaa	‘flea’
fira (M)	firraa	‘guest, relative’
fulaa (P)	fulaɗɗaa	‘gate, door’
funna (M)	funnaɗaa	‘water outlet (e.g. pond)’
furaa (P)	furaɗɗaa	‘padlock, key’
furʃaa (P)	furʃaaɗɗaa	‘baby’s faeces’
furoota (F)	furoowwaa	‘type of bead’
furtaa (P)	furtaɗaa	‘cotton cord for women’
fuuraa (P)	fuuraɗɗaa	‘fear’
haaɗita (F)	haaɗiwwaa	‘load, burden’
haaruta (F)	haaruwwaa	‘revenge’
haɓta (M)	haɓtaɗaa	‘border, foreign country’
hakalaa (M)	hakallaa	‘cabbage’
hakayta (F)	hakayaa	‘second round of harvest’
hallaka (M)	hallakkaa	‘fat’
hanʃufaa(P)	hanʃufaɗɗaa	‘saliva’
hankaaɗa (M)	hankaaɗaɗɗaa	‘lightning’
hankaalta (M)	hankaalaa	tree species

hankoolayta (M)	hankoolayaa	weed species
hanɠaraara (M)	hanɠaraarraa	‘caterpillar’
harka (M)	harkaa	‘hand’
harpoorissa (M)	harpoorissaɗɗaa	tree species
harraaɓatta (M)	harraaɓattaɗɗaa	‘cobweb’
harreeta (F)	harreewwaa	‘donkey’
haaʃʃullaa (P)	haaʃʃullaɗɗaa	‘leaf’
hawla (M)	hawlallaa	‘grave, tomb’
herkiya (M)	herkaɗaa	‘axe’
hiɓta (F)	hiɓɓaa, ~ɗaa	‘lip’
hiɗana (M)	hiɗannaa	root crop species
hiiɓa (M)	hiiɓɓaa	‘meat soup’
hiippaa (P)	hiippaɗaa	‘riddle’
hikkitta (M)	hikkiyyaa	‘star’
hilteeta (F)	hilteewwaa	‘sycamore tree’
hinkaaʃʃata (F)	hinkaaʃʃawwaa	‘ant’
hinkiikkata (F)	hinkiikkawwaa	plant species
hiparaata (F)	hiparaawwaa	‘bat (animal)’
hirriiɓaa (P)	hirriiɓaɗɗaa	‘eyelash’
hirta (M)	hirtaɗaa	‘man’s special knife’
hittina (M)	hittinnaa	‘root’
hoofa (M)	hooffaa	‘hole’
hoollata (F)	hoollawwaa	‘sheep skin’
hoppatta (M)	hoppayaa	‘guts (for food)’
hoʃʃa (M)	hoʃʃaɗaa	‘cliff’
hotaarta (M)	hotaaraa	tree species
kaaɓtuta (F)	kaaɓtuwwaa	‘farm tool’
kaaʃaa (P)	kaaʃaɗɗaa	‘money’
kaaʃʃata (F)	kaaʃʃawwaa	‘teff’
kaarayyoota (F)	kaarayyoowwaa	‘concubine’
kaariyyaa (P)	kaariyyaɗɗaa	‘devil’
kaasa (M)	kaassaa	‘horn, gun’
kaawwata (F)	kaawwawwaa	‘mirror, glass’
kaɓa (M)	kaɓaɗɗaa	‘canal for irrigation’
kafa (M)	kaffaa	‘clan’
kaharta (F)	kaharraa	‘ewe’
kahitta (M)	kahiyyaa	tree species
kalaʔta (F)	kalaʔawwaa	‘spider’
kanaʔta (F)	kanaʔawwaa	‘palm’
kanɗaa (P)	kanɗaɗɗaa	grass species
kaankita (F)	kaankiwwaa	‘mule’
kannoota (F)	kannoowwaa	‘calabash to drink from’
kanta (M)	kantaɗaa	‘sub-village’
kaŋŋatta (M)	kaŋŋattaɗɗaa,~yaa	‘mud from/around well’

kappaa (M)	kappaɗaa	‘wheat’
karayta (M)	karayaa	‘tributary’
karissa (M)	karissaɗɗaa	‘guts’
karitta (M)	kariyyaa	‘belly’
karakaa (M)	karkaɗaa	‘beehive’
karmaa (M)	karmaɗaa	‘lion’
karratta (M)	karrayaa	‘squirrel’
kasaraa (P)	kasaraa	‘dreadlocks’
kasirayta (M)	kasirayaa	‘tick (parasite)’
katipayta (M)	katipayaa	plant species
kawkawa (M)	kawkawwaa	‘jaw’
kawlaa (P)	kawlallaa, ɗaa	‘metal tool for ginning’
kawsa (M)	kawsaɗaa	‘chin; beard’
kawwatta (F)	kawwayaa	‘terrace’
kaylaa (P)	kaylaɗaa	‘tassel’
kayyaha (M)	kayyahhaa	‘lawn (chief’s compound)’
keeʔuta (F)	keeʔuwwaa	‘belching’
kehayta (M)	kehayaa, ~ɗɗaa	kind of musical instrument
kela (M)	kellaa	‘vagina’
keltayta (M)	keltayaa	‘baboon’
keraa (M)	kereʔta	‘thief’
kessa (M)	kessaɗaa	‘bosom, chest’
kiʔsaa (P)	kiʔsaɗɗaa	‘fireplace; cricket (insect)’
killootaa (F)	killoowwaa	‘ritual’
kilpa (M)	kilpallaa	‘knee’
kirra (M)	kirraɗaa	‘river’
kittayyaa (M)	kittayyaɗɗaa	‘bedbug’
koɗaa (M)	koɗaɗɗaa	‘work’
kokaa (M)	kokaɗɗaa	‘skin, hide’
kolalta (M)	kolalaa	‘acacia’
kolkaa (P)	kolkaɗaa	‘food without cabbage’
kollatta (M)	kollayaa	‘animal skin’
konfa (M)	konfaɗaa	‘short’
kooɓta (F)	kooɓtaɗaa	tree species
koofinaa (P)	koofinaɗɗaa	‘lung’
koorita (F)	kooriwwaa	‘type of cloth’
kootaara (M)	kootaarraa	‘(small) granary’
koromta (F)	koromaa	‘heifer’
kosaa (P)	kosaɗɗaa	‘big granary’
koʃkoʃa (M)	koʃkoʃʃaa	‘comb (of chicken, bird)’
koskorta (F)	koskoraa	‘partridge’
koylaata (F)	koylaawwaa	bird species
kulilta (M)	kulillaa	‘guinea fowl’
kulleeta (F)	kulleewwaa	‘hood; cap’
kupaʔtaa (P)	kupaʔtaɗɗaa	‘tortoise’

kuppoota (F)	kuppoowwaa	‘cotton thread’
kurra (M)	kurraɗaa	‘ear’
kurruufʃaa (M)	kurruufʃaɗɗaa	‘droppings (sheep or goats)’
kusa (M)	kussaa	‘penis’
kuʃilaa (M).	kuʃillaa	‘maggot (as parasite)’
kussitta (M)	kussiyyaa	‘second-born son’
kusumta (F)	kusumtaɗɗaa	‘navel’
kuta (M)	kuttaa	‘dog’
kuufa (M)	kuuffaa	‘pile of cow dung’
kuyyaalayta (M)	kuyyaalayaa	‘dust’
kuuɲata (F)	kuuɲawwaa	‘gnat’
laakaanta (M)	laakaanaa	plant species
laallata (F)	laallawwaa	plant species
lafta (F)	lafaa	‘bone’
laha (M)	lahaɗɗaa	‘ram’
landeeta (F)	landeewwaa	‘spleen’
lawaʃeeta (F)	lawaʃeewwaa	‘mouse’
leemmuta (F).	leemmuwwaa	‘bubble’
leɠaa (P)	leɠaɗɗaa	‘loan’
leya (M)	leyaɗɗaa	‘month’
loɠta (F)	loɠɠaa	‘leg, foot’
lukkalitta (M)	lukkaliyyaa, ~aa	‘hen, chicken’
maakaa (M)	maakaɗɗaa	‘snake’
maanɠaa (M)	maanɠaɗaa	‘fresh edible grain seeds’
maanɠirayyaata (F)	maanɠirayyaawwaa	plant species
maaɠayta (M)	maaɠayaa	plant species
mahanta (F)	mahanaa, ~ɗɗaa	grass species
makkaa (P)	makkaɗaa	‘sickness’
mala (M)	malaɗɗaa	‘system, wisdom, strategy’
malχaa (M)	malχaɗaa	‘flood’
marʃaa (P)	marʃaɗaa	‘hip’
marɠinaa (P)	marɠinaɗɗaa	‘intestine’
masarta (F)	marsaa	‘buttock’
masaanaa (P)	masaanaɗɗaa	‘autumn’
maʃannaata (F)	maʃannaawwaa	‘roof top made from clay’
maskahanta (M)	maskahanaa	tree species
massatta (M)	massayaa	‘crocodile’
mateʔta (F)	mateʔtaɗɗaa, ~ewwaa	‘upper millstone’
matta (M)	mattaɗaa	‘head’
meelaala (M)	meelaallaa	‘mould (of snake)’
mehaɗɗaa (P)	mehaɗɗaa	‘belongings’
miɗaa (P)	miɗaɗɗaa	‘cabbage leaves’
miira (M)	miirraa	‘anger’

misinta (F)	misinaa, ~ɗɗaa	‘clitoris’
moohaa (M)	moohaɗɗaa	‘family spirit’
mookkaa (P)	mookkaɗaa	‘cassava’
mooluta (F)	mooluwwaa	‘bald’
moona (M)	moonnaa	‘mound of soil’
moonta (F)	moontaɗaa	‘sky’
mooraa (M)	mooraɗɗaa	‘public square’
moossuta (F)	moossuwwaa	‘piece of bread’
mootta (m/f)	moottaɗaa	‘friend’
mooyyileeta (F)	mooyyileewwaa	‘chigger, sand flea’
moɠorɠorissa (M)	moɠorɠorissaɗɗaa	grass species
mottooɠaa (M)	mottooɠɠaa	‘car, vehicle’
moχna (M)	moχnannaa	‘rocky place’
muɗkahanta (M)	muɗkahanaa	tree species
mura (M)	murraa	‘forest’
murkuʃaa (M)	murkuʃaɗɗaa	‘fish’
muukuta (F)	muukuwwaa	‘frog’
muuɠa (M)	muuɠɠaa	‘ladle’
muutiya (M)	muutiyaɗɗaa	‘worm’
naalaa (M)	naalaɗɗaa	‘spoiled behaviour’
nahtitta (M)	nahtiyyaa, ~ɗɗaa	‘centre of the head’
napaalayta (M)	napaalayaa	bird species
napahta (F)	napahawwaa, nappaa	‘ear’
naplatta (M)	naplattaɗɗaa	bird species
nessa (M)	nessaɗaa	‘soul, breath’
nooɗɗuta (F)	nooɗɗuwwaa	‘bribe’
ɲaaŋŋaa (P)	ɲaaŋŋaɗaa	‘tomato’
ɲirfaa (P)	ɲirfaɗaa	‘hair’
ɲupuraa (P)	ɲupuraɗɗaa	‘component of loom’
paaʃuta (F)	paaʃuwwaa	‘sideburns’
paakkuta (F)	paakkuwwaa	‘span (measurement)’
paala (M)	paallaa	‘feather’
paallata (F)	paallawwaa	‘clay plate to fetch fire with’
paankaa (P)	paankaɗaa	‘machete’
paaɠa (M)	paaɠɠaa	‘disease, sickness’
paarkaalaa (P)	paarkaalaɗɗaa	‘enemy’
paasa (M)	paassaa	plant species
pafta (F)	paftaɗaa	‘house made from stones’
pahnaa (P)	pahnaɗɗaa	‘example’
pakaannaa (P)	pakaannaɗɗɗaa	root crop species
pakaʃeeta (F)	pakaʃeewwaa	‘mumps’
pakataa (P)	pakataɗɗaa	‘wide shield’

palla (M)	pallaɗaa	‘v-shaped thing’
palta (M)	paltaɗaa	‘white basalt’
para (M)	parraa	‘year’
paraʃʃaa (M)	paraʃʃaɗɗaa	‘finger millet’
parappaɠaa (P)	parappaɠaɗɗaa	‘heartburn’
parʃuma (M)	parʃummaa	‘stool (to sit on)’
parka (M)	parkaɗaa	‘work team’
payraa (P)	payraɗaa	‘type of farm tool’
peeɠaa (M)	peeɠaɗɗaa	‘metal or clay dish for baking’
peeɠaa (P)	peeɠɠaa	‘quarrel, dispute’
piʃʃitta (M)	piʃʃiyyaa	grain species
piirtuta (F)	piirtuwwaa	‘sun’
pinanta (M)	pinaanaa	‘animal’
pirpirta (M)	pirpiraa	‘juniper tree’
piʃaa (P)	piʃaɗɗaa	‘water’
pofa (M)	pofaɗɗaa	‘serpent’
pohaa (P)	pohaɗɗaa	‘contribution, tribune’
pohmayta (M)	pohmayaa	‘chameleon’
pokkeeta (F)	pokkeewwaa	‘shorts (with pockets)’
pondohdohhaata (F)	pondohdohhaawwaa	plant species
poolluta (F)	poolluwwaa	‘hole in the ground’
poorta (M)	poortaɗaa	‘barley’
pooyta (F)	pooytaɗaa	‘mourning, crying’
poɠaʃʃa (M)	poɠaʃʃaɗɗaa	‘back door’
poɠallaa (M)	poɠalladɗaa	‘clan chief’
poɠoota (F)	poɠoowwaa	‘lower jaw’
pora (M)	porraa	‘road’
poroχχaata (F)	poroχχaawwaa	‘component of *payraa*’
pottaata (F)	pottaawwaa	‘pumpkin’
punitta (M)	puniyyaa	‘coffee’
punsukkayta (M)	punsukkayaa	‘owl’
purkaayyata (F)	purkaayyawwaa	bird species
pussayyaata (F)	pussayyaawwaa	lizard species
puukkaa (M)	puukkaɗɗaa	‘corpse’
puulluta (F)	puulluwwaa	‘fermented dough’
putteena (M)	putteennaa	‘enjera’

ɠaawa (M)	ɠaawwaa	‘hole’
ɠaawuta (F)	ɠaawuwwaa	‘coughing’
ɠannatta (M)	ɠannayaa	lizard species
ɠapaleeta (F)	ɠapaleewwaa	‘monkey’
ɠapoota (F)	ɠapoowwaa	‘local beer’
ɠarratta (M)	ɠarrayaa	‘cheese’
ɠarta (M)	ɠartaɗaa	‘firstborn son’
ɠawreʔta (F)	ɠawreʔewwaa	tree species

ɠayranta (M)	ɠayranaa	‘leopard’
ɠayya (M)	ɠayyaɗaa	‘smoke’
ɠimayta (M)	ɠimayaa	‘old man’
ɠinaʔitta (M)	ɠinaʔaa, ~iyyaa	‘rib; spring (of car)’
ɠinɗa (M)	ɠinɗaɗɗaa	‘side’
ɠitiʃʃoota (F)	ɠitiʃʃoowwaa	‘sneezing’
ɠolfaa (P)	ɠolfallaa, ~ɗaa	‘pod, bark (of tree)’
ɠolpa (M)	ɠolpallaa, ~yaa	‘he-goat’
ɠoola (M)	ɠoollaa	‘cow/ox hide for sleeping on’
ɠoonɠita (M)	ɠoonɠiwwaa	‘throat’
ɠooʃa (M)	ɠooʃʃaa, ~ɗɗaa	‘skin disease’
ɠoyra (M)	ɠoraa	‘tree’
ɠupitta (M)	ɠupiyyaa	‘finger’
ɠurrupayta (M)	ɠurrupayaa	‘crow’
ɠussa (M)	ɠussaɗaa	‘wall’
raaka (F)	raakkaa	‘old woman’
rafayta (M)	rafayaa	‘fallow land’
raɠaa (M)	raɠaɗɗaa	‘type of hut’
riifa (M)	riifaɗɗaa	‘pubic hair’
rikaa (M)	rikaɗɗaa	‘toothbrush’
ritta (F)	rittaɗaa	‘young she-goat’
riwwaʔitta (M)	riwwaʔiyyaa	‘milky way’
roopa (M)	rooppaa, ~ɗɗaa	‘rain’
rukkatta (M)	rukkayaa	tree species
ruuffata (F)	ruuffawwaa	‘big intestine (of animals)’
saallaa (M)	saallaɗaa	‘cow dung’
saalpuuɠaa (M)	saalpuuɠaɗɗaa	‘skunk’
saaraa (P)	saaraɗɗaa	‘poem’
saayaa (P)	saayaɗɗaa	‘rectum’
saalilikoota (F)	saalilikoowwaa	‘rumen, first stomach of ruminant’
saalpataa (M)	saalpataɗɗaa	‘belt’
sankaylitta (M)	sankayliyyaa	‘component of *payraa*’
saŋŋeeta (F)	saŋŋeewwaa	‘species, type’
sapanta (F)	sapanaa	acacia species
saraɓta (M)	sarɓaa	‘calf (of leg)’
sataʔta (M)	sataʔawwaa	‘heart’
sayleeta (F)	sayleewwaa	‘mane’
seettitaa (M)	seettiyyaa	‘upper foot’
seyyitta (M)	seyyittaɗɗaa	‘hawk’
sinɗaa (P)	sinɗaɗɗaa	‘urine’
sipla (M)	siplallaa	‘metal, iron’
sitaa (P)	sitaɗɗaa	‘tail (of an animal)’
solaa (P)	solaɗɗaa	‘tail (of a bird)’

sookitta (M)	sookiyyaa	‘salt’
soroora (M)	soroorraa	‘rainy season’
sukeenta (F)	sukeenaa	‘female lamb’
surraa (M)	surradaa	‘waist’
suuma (M)	suummaa	‘witch doctor’s revelation’
sʷaa (P)	sʷaaɗɗaa	‘meat’
ʃaaɓɓaa (P)	ʃaaɓɓadaa	‘stretcher’
ʃahaa (P)	ʃahaɗɗaa	‘honeycomb’
ʃaɠɠaa (M)	ʃaɠɠadaa	‘calabash cup’
ʃaloota (F)	ʃaloowwaa	‘cotton thread’
ʃehta (F)	ʃahtaɗɗaa	‘grass snake’
ʃenɠera (M)	ʃenɠerraa	‘long stick with hook’
ʃila (M)	ʃilallaa	‘rock’
ʃipiritta (M)	ʃipiriyyaa	‘spin’
ʃoloɠloɠitta (M)	ʃoloɠloɠiyyaa	‘claw’
ʃonka (M)	ʃonkadaa	type of hut
ʃooraa (M)	ʃooraɗɗaa	‘thin stick to flog with’
ʃuulayta (M)	ʃuulaytaɗɗaa	type of sorghum
taahayta (M)	taahayaa, ~ɗɗaa	‘sand’
taaltaallata (F)	taaltaallawwaa	‘giraffe’
taammata (F)	taammawwaa	‘desert bee’
taaʃa (M)	taaʃʃaa	plant species
taata (M)	taattaa	‘residue’
tafa (M)	taffaa	‘thigh’
takala (M)	takallaa	‘valley’
talteeta (F)	talaa	‘she-goat’
tampoota (F)	tampoowwaa	‘tobacco’
taamta (F)	taammaa, ~ɗaa	‘branch’
tankaaʃʃata (F)	tankaaʃʃawwaa	‘hedgehog’
tawna (M)	tawnannaa, ~ɗaa	‘bell’
teʔʃaa (P)	teʔʃaɗɗaa	‘elephantiasis’
teeka (M)	teekkaa, ~ɗɗaa	‘preying mantis’
teepaa (P)	teepaɗɗaa	‘rope’
teetta (M)	teettaɗaa	‘threshing field’
telɠayta (M)	telɠayaa	‘lizard’
tiiruta (F)	tiiruwwaa	‘circular object’
tika (F)	tikkaa	‘house’
timpiliɠiʃaa (M)	timpiliɠiʃaɗɗaa	tree species
tinnayta (M)	tinnayaa	tree species
tirmaama (M)	tirmaammaa	‘bruise’
tiraa (P)	tiraɗɗaa	‘liver’
tiyyaa (P)	tiyyaɗaa	‘dispute’
toʃaa (P)	toʃaɗɗaa	‘water droplet’

tokkayta (M)	tokkayaa	‘porcupine’
tolloʔta (F)	tolloʔowwaa	‘hump’
toma (M)	tomaɗɗaa	‘bowl’
tooraa (P)	tooraɗɗaa	‘opposition’
torraa (P)	torraɗaa	‘speech, talk’
tokuɗoota (F)	tukuɗoowwaa	‘nape’
tullatta (M)	tullayaa, ~ɗɗaa	‘old cow’
tulluppaata (F)	tulluppaawwaa	‘wood-boring beetle’
tulpeeta (F)	tulpeewwaa	‘hippopotamus’
tuuɓuta (F)	tuuɓuwwaa	‘false banana bread’
tuuɗa (M)	tuuɗɗaa	‘pillar’
tuuma (M)	tuumaɗɗaa	‘onion, garlic’
tuuyyata (F)	tuuyyawwaa	‘pig’
tuyyuuraa (M)	tuyyuurraa	‘airplane’
waakkaa (P)	waakkaɗaa	‘wooden statue’
wataroota (F)	wataroowwaa	‘rope made from sisal fibre’
χaʔtiya (M)	χaʔtiyaɗɗaa	‘fly’
χaallita (F)	χaalliwwaa	bird species
χaaʃaa (P)	χaaʃaɗɗaa	‘reed’
χaayyata (F)	χaayyawwaa	‘nightmare’
χalitta (M)	χaliyyaa	‘stick’
χallaa (P)	χallaɗaa	‘kidney’
χallaʃʃa (M)	χallaʃʃaɗɗaa	‘rhinoceros horn’
χammayta (M)	χammayaa	‘fallow land’
χampirteeta (F)	χampiraa	‘bird’
χapnaa (P)	χapnaɗaa	‘forest (of clan chief)’
χarinta (F)	χarinaa	‘horizontal fence bar’
χarra (M)	χarraɗaa	‘door, gate’
χarχarayta (M)	χarχarayaa	‘warthog’
χaʃʃitta (M)	χaʃʃiyyaa	‘shoulder’
χawloʔta (F)	χawloʔowwaa	‘molar’
χaylaa (P)	χayladaa	plant species
χaynaʔta (M)	χaynaʔtaɗɗaa	‘strongly cotton thread’
χeela (M)	χeellaa	‘boundary’
χoffaa (P)	χoffaɗaa	‘groin’
χolaʔitta (M)	χolaʔaa, ~yyaa	cactus species
χolaa (P)	χolaɗɗaa	‘hot drink made from coffee leaves’
χolmaa (M)	χolmaɗaa	‘neck’
χommaata (F)	χommaawwaa	‘vengeance’
χompalta (F)	χompalaa	‘cactus’
χopta (F)	χopaa (P); ~ɗɗaa	‘shoe’
χoraa (P)	χooraɗɗaa	‘fine, punishment’
χorma (M)	χormaɗaa	‘ox, bull’

χottooma (M)	χottoommaa	‘fist’
yaakata (F)	yaakawwaa	‘bead’
yaaya (M)	yaayyaa	‘type of bead’
yeela (M)	yeellaa	‘field along the river bank’
yoʔmatta (M)	yoʔmayaa	‘grindstone’
yoʔta (F)	yoʔtaɗɗaa	‘greed’
yooyta (M)	yooytaɗaa	‘jackal’

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Samenvatting (Summary in Dutch)

Het proefschrift *A grammar of Konso* is een beschrijvende grammatica van het Konso, gebaseerd op veldwerk en introspectie van de auteur.

In de inleiding (hoofdstuk één) wordt kort ingegaan op de cultuur en sociale structuur van de Konso die in zuidwest Ethiopië wonen. Het hoofdstuk beschrijft hun intensieve landbouw en hun traditionele methodes om erosie tegen te gaan. Het hoofdstuk bevat ook de belangrijkste algemene informatie over de Konsotaal: de klassificatie, de situatie rond erkenning van een orthografie en keuze voor een schrift en de beperkte omvang van geschreven literatuur in het Konso. Alle voorgaande taalkundige werken die betrekking hebben op het Konso worden genoemd en kort besproken en de dataverzameling wordt uitgelegd.

Hoofdstuk twee behelst de fonologie van het Konso met analyse van fonemen, klinkers en medeklinkers, en uitleg over hun fonetische realisatie in context. De implosieven verliezen hun stemhebbendheid als ze lang (geminaat) zijn. Alle consonanten kunnen als geminaat optreden. Voor de bewijsvoering voor fonemische status wordt gebruikt gemaakt van (bijna-)minimale paren. De vijf klinkers kunnen lang en kort voorkomen. Ik behandel de distributie en beperkingen daarop van klinkers en medeklinkers. Toon kan contrastief zijn in het Konso (Lage tegenover Hoge toon) maar de functie van dit onderscheid is uiterst beperkt. Het hoofdstuk bevat een overzicht van de kenmerken van de lettergreep. Ik presenteer ook een aantal gevallen van opmerkelijke lexicale variatie die niet fonologisch van aard lijken te zijn. De fonologische regels van het Konso komen aan bod, inclusief die die beperkt zijn tot specifieke morfemen, de morfofonologie.

Hoofdstuk drie geeft een kort en bondig overzicht van de basisstructuur van de zin. Dit hoofdstuk is op deze plaats nodig om de voorbeeldzinnen in de volgende hoofdstukken te begrijpen. De meeste Konso zinnen hebben een clitisch element dat naar het subject verwijst maar los van het werkwoord en vóór het werkwoord op verschillende plaatsen in de zin kan staan, zich hechtend aan het woord ervoor of erachter. Deze subjectclitica worden hier behandeld. De basisstructuur van verbale zinnen, nominale zinnen, adjectivale zinnen en cleft zinnen komen aan bod.

Hoofdstuk vier gaat over het naamwoord. Het naamwoord in het Konso onderscheidt onder andere geslacht en getal. De beide dimensies geslacht en getal zijn zeer interessant en in het bijzonder hun interactie, zoals ook het geval is in verscheidene andere Koesjitische talen. Het hoofdstuk begint met een uiteenzetting over geslacht en laat zien dat deze categorie zijn bestaansrecht ontleent aan de concordantie op het werkwoord (subject) en op de modificeerders van

het naamwoord. Het geslacht van naamwoorden is een lexicaal gegeven en alleen in een beperkt aantal gevallen te relateren aan de sexe van de bezielde referent. Na de introductie van geslacht komt getal aan de orde. Het Konso kent een aantal verschillende meervoudsvormingen waarvan de distributie in het lexicon aangegeven dient te worden. Naast meervoudsvorming kent het Konso ook enkelvoudsvorming van naamwoorden. Allerlei combinaties van afleiding voor getal voor dezelfde nominale wortel zijn geattesteerd: singulatief, of pluratief, of beide, of geen van beide. De categorie van getal vereist ook concordantie en wel op het adjectief, waar zij onafhankelijk is van de concordantie naar geslacht die ook op het adjectief gemarkeerd is. Interessant en op het eerste gezicht onverwacht voor de lezer die niet vertrouwd is met Koesjitische talen is het feit dat één van waardes van geslacht "meervoud" is, maar los staat van "meervoud"als waarde voor getal. Naast deze onderwerpen komen in dit hoofdstuk ook aan bod: markering van definietheid, van (specifieke) indefinietheid, en van demonstrativa. Ik leg in dit hoofdstuk uit hoe er geteld wordt, en hoe de basale rekenkundige operaties worden uitgedrukt. Het hoofdstuk bevat een inventaris van de verschillende mogelijkheden van afleiding naar en vanuit de categorie van naamwoord. Ook casus komt aan bod. Ik sluit het hoofdstuk af met enkele woorden over samenstellingen.

Hoofdstuk vijf gaat over voornaamwoorden: persoonlijke, aanwijzende en bezittelijke voornaamwoorden. Ik behandel hier ook de uitdrukking van wederkerigheid (reflexieven en reciproken).

Hoofdstuk zes is gewijd aan het werkwoord. Allereerst behandel ik de werkwoordsafleidingen causatief, mediaal, passief, inchoatief, pluractioneel en punctueel. De laatste twee zijn buitengemeen interessant omdat ze in feite een werkwoordelijk getalsysteem (getal van de gebeurtenis) vormen met inflectionele eigenschappen, zoals de verplichtheid tot uitdrukking, maar ook met derivationele eigenschappen zoals lexicale bepaaldheid voor welke vormen, pluractioneel en/of punctueel, er zijn. Punctueel behelst dat de actie één keer of ten dele of intensief plaats vindt. Het tweede onderdeel van hoofdstuk zes gaat over de werkwoordsinflectie. Het basisonderscheid is tussen perfectief en imperfectief aspect maar binnen het imperfectieve aspect is er een speciale vorm die ik continuative noem. Op het modale vlak worden ook de optatief uitgedrukt en de gebiedende wijs. De negatieve vormen komen aan bod in hoofdstuk elf.

Adjectieven zijn het onderwerp van hoofdstuk 7. Reduplicatie van adjectieven kan meervoudigheid aanduiden maar ook intensiteit. De verschillende nominalisaties van adjectieven komen ter sprake.

Hoofdstuk acht behandelt de resterende lexicale categoriën zoals postposities, bijwoorden en conjuncties. Dit laatste morfologische hoofdstuk heeft een inventariserend karakter.

Vanaf hoofdstuk negen komt de syntaxis aan de orde, hoewel ook in de voorafgaande hoofdstukken al syntactische zaken zijn aangekaart. Ik behandel woordvolgorde binnen de naamwoordgroep en de volgorde van woordgroepen binnen de zin, inclusief de nominale zin. Ik duid aan hoe vergelijking in Konso uitgedrukt wordt en ik besteed aandacht aan de syntactische eigenschappen van bijzinnen.

Hoofdstuk tien behandelt vraagzinnen: inhoudsvragen, ja/nee vragen en zogenaamde tag questions. Hoofdstuk elf behandelt negatie. Er zijn speciale negatieve werkwoordsvormen om negatie uit tedrukken, maar negatie wordt ook uitgedrukt in het subjectcliticum en met lexicale middelen waardoor een zin verscheidene uitdrukkingen van negatie kan bevatten. In hoofdstuk twaalf behandel in complexe zinnen waaronder conditionele zinnen. Complementzinnen worden hier behandeld maar ook bijwoordelijke zinnen van tijd, reden en doel. Het hoofdstuk inventariseert de verschillende manieren om zinnen te verbinden.

Hoofdstuk dertien gaat over ideofonen, waarin de klank intrinsiek betekenis uitdrukt, en over interjecties. Het hoofdstuk eindigt met de vaste uitdrukkingen die gehanteerd worden bij begroeting en het nemen van afscheid. Met deze paragraaf nemen we afscheid van de grammatica en zijn we in staat de twee teksten van hoofdstuk veertien te doorgronden. Deze teksten zijn tot in detail geglost. Hoofdstuk vijftien tenslotte is een lijst van naamwoorden met hun getal en geslachtsvormen. Deze lijst vormde de basis voor hoofdstuk vier.

Curriculum Vitae

Ongaye Oda Orkaydo was born on 8 March 1976 at Kuume village in Konso, Ethiopia. In June 1997, he completed his high school education at Konso Junior and Senior High School. In November 1997 he began his studies at Addis Ababa University and obtained his B.A. degree in Linguistics in 2000. From November 2000 to August 2003 he was employed as a graduate assistant at Dilla University, then at Dilla College of Teacher Education and Health Sciences. In September 2003 he began the graduate programme at Addis Ababa University and received his M.A. degree in Linguistics in 2004. From September 2004 to August 2007, he was a lecturer at Dilla University. Apart from teaching linguistics and English courses, he served as an assistant coordinator for the Continuing Education Programme, coordinator for the Distance Education Unit, and vice dean to the Teacher Education Faculty. From September 2007 to August 2011, he was employed as a PhD researcher at Leiden University Centre for Linguistics (LUCL), Department of African Languages and Cultures. He is married and has two sons and a daughter.